1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

but have served both the Tui Kanokupolu and the Tui Tonga. Filise Vaitaiki was the present Kama's pre-matapule name. 565 173 167

At Nomuka Island on October 1, 1920, I witnessed the appointment of a minor matapule to office by the governor of Haapai. During the ceremony Pahulu received the title of Pilimokaupua, the name of a matapule from Maufanga, Tongatabu, and which refers to a little hill in Maufanga. (One informant said that the hill in Maufanga is called Kaupua and another that Pili and Kaupua were two chiefs of Maufanga.) 565 624 123 554

After the governor had assigned the title, kava was served and the matapule was called by his new name. The last Pilimokaupua had no son, hence he was succeeded in title by his brother's son, Pahulu, who on his father's side at least was of matapule blood. By receiving this title the social position of Pahulu was materially enhanced and his rank advanced. 276 553 428 554

To-day matapules use staff and fly whisk like Samoan *tulafale*. When addressing an assembly in which high chiefs are present, a matapule stands; in a *faikava*, he sits; in an assembly where chiefs are not present, he may sit or stand as he likes. A chiefly informant said that the use of fly whisk and staff by matapules is a late practice, that anciently these objects were used by chiefs only. 565 624 622 516 537

It seems to be the custom for the prospective heir to a matapule title to serve as a substitute in the absence of the title holder. In the absence of both the title bearer and the prospective heir, the relative next in line, even such collateral relatives as cousins, may serve. A younger brother of a matapule, serving in his place is called matapule *tehina* (younger brother). 565 624 428

The chief matapules of the Tui Kanokupolu are Lauaki and Motuapuaka who reside in Tongatabu. Their representatives or substitutes in other islands are: Haapai, Kofe and Afeaki; Vavau, Fotu and Afu Haa Laufuli; Niuatoputapu, Sika and Kaufanga; Niuafoou, Masila and Haufano. 565 624 551

Mariner lists certain occupations which are followed by matapules. The occupation of *toutai vaka* or navigator was an important one. The two principal matapule navigators were Leka for the Tui Tonga and Ula for the Tui Kanokupolu. Like the great matapule Lauaki, Ula originally served the Tui Tonga, but was later sent by the Tui Haa Takalaua to serve the Tui Kanokupolu. An old poem tells how Ula and Leka bridge the gap between the Tui Tonga and the Tui Kanokupolu. Ulamoleka (that is, Ula and Leka) was a chief adopted by Leka. He said of himself: "Kauhalauta (Tui Tonga side) and Kauhalalalo (Tui Kanokupolu side) are far apart, but I am the one who brings them close together, referring to the fact that he had the names of the two *toutai*. 502

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

When the Tui Kanokupolu voyages, Ula acts not only as navigator but as matapule in general while at sea, and for three days after landing. Thereafter Motuapuaka, or his representative, resumes the duties. The same applied to Leka in relation to the Tui Tonga.

The two following versions of the origin of the title Ula are of interest.

Hiva is the name of a little stream running into the sea in Haa Vakatolo, Tongatabu. The Tui Tonga was there bathing, attended by Motuapuaka and Akauola, when a sturdy little child came along, running up to the king without any sign of fear. The king asked whose child it was and Akauola replied falsely that it was his. The king said it was a clever little boy (*tamasii fie ula*). The name of *fie ula* stuck and was the origin of the title Ula. The child came from no man knows whence and was probably a god.

According to Ahomee, Akauola had nothing to do with the incident. The child sat by the Tui Tonga, who said, "Toki tamasii eni oku fie ula" (Then the little boy here desires to be clever).

The Tui Tonga made him his chief *toutai*. His nickname (*hingoa fakatenctene*) was Ula. The gods of Haa Vakatolo brought about this elevation. Ula became the appointment name or office name of his successors. His seat is at Neiafu, Tongatabu.

The seat of the *toutai* Leka is at Nukuleka, Tongatabu. His representatives in Haapai and Vavau, Lutui and Akauola, are called Tua Leka. Lutui is said to be of Tokelauan origin. He was formerly *toutai* to the Tui Haa Takalaua, but now to the Tui Kanokupolu. Both Leka and Ula are now appointed by the Tui Kanokupolu.

Another important navigator who seems to have been midway between a chief and matapule in rank was Tuita. A late bearer of the title was the son of the Tamaha Amelia. Whether it is Tuita, Leka, or Ula who is mentioned by Wilson (66, p. 100) as "admiral, or rather the navigator of their fleets," is not clear.

Arranged according to rank and importance matapules living on the hereditary lands (*tofia*) of the great chief Ata are: Shadrach Katoa, chief matapule to Ata; John Laakulu, matapule to Ata; Shadrach Mohulamutefisi, matapule to Ata; Samuel Fakauho; Paul Eke, matapule to Ata; Josiah Tuliakiono, matapule to Ata; James Sikei, matapule to Ata; Josiah Pahulu, Watson Langiapuna, John Hifo Funaki, Julius Tava.

In Hihifo, Lifuka Island, Haapai, the three principal matapules in order of rank are Lutui, a *toutai*, Tea, and Mafifakapotu. If the queen were to visit Hihifo, Lutui might sit beside her in the kava circle.

ARTISANS AND OCCUPATIONS

Mariner (41, vol. 2, p. 91) has carefully listed the Tongan occupations in order of rank as follows:

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 009 Tonga 009

that is, the precedence of a chief in the Tui Kanokupolu's kava circle might differ from his precedence in the kava circle of another chief.

In the Tui Tonga's kava circle the wooden kava bowl (*kumete*) is designated as *tanoa*. On one side of the outer surface of the bowl is a little raised block (*taunga*), usually triangular, perforated and threaded with a piece of cord by which the bowl may be suspended when not in use. In the Tui Tonga's kava circle the bowl was so placed that the *taunga* was towards the president, a position called *fulitaunga*. In the Tui Kanokupolu's kava circle the *taunga* is towards the kava mixer, a position called *olovahaa*, because the space (*vahaa*) between two legs of the kava bowl is towards the president.

In splitting a large root of kava with axe or crowbar, in the Tui Kanokupolu's kava circle, the roots are placed towards the president, the branches away. In the Tui Tonga's kava circle the position was reversed. In counting baskets of food the Tui Tonga (Kauhalauta) people touched the first and merely pointed to the rest (14, p. 210). "The first one is the Tui Tonga's and he alone is chief."

Food, as a relish (*fono*), is placed before the individuals in the kava circle. While of old, it apparently was eaten by the people to whom presented, at the present time it is removed and eaten by the *fahu* (sororal nephews or grandchildren).

When the Tui Kanokupolu arrives by sea in another country or in a distant province, his navigator, in the place of the regular matapule, must direct the activities of the kava circle. He serves in this capacity for three mornings, in addition to the kava drinking when arriving. After that Motuapuaka, or one of his family, resumes his duties in the kava ring.

The following account by William Tungi, a grandfather of the present Prince Consort, relates the directions for the Tui Tonga's kava circle, said to have been formulated by Loau, the Tui Haamea, during the reign of the Tui Tonga, Takalaua, or immediately thereafter.

These are Loau's directions: When the chiefs are assembled in the kava ring in the green of the Kauhalauta called Faoamanafa, on the left side [of the Tui Tonga] will be the Tui Faleua; on the right side [of the Tui Tonga] will be Tokemoana; Tafolo will sit at the turning in [*fasialofi*] of the right side of the circle; Lomulahi will sit at the turning in of the left side of the circle; and the Tui Haa Teiho sits at the end [near the kava bowl].

It is forbidden to strike the wrong-doer at the kava drinking. There is a saying, "A sinner at the place of refuge." And it is forbidden to deprive the chiefs of the food portioned to them as relish (the carrying away of the relish), and it is loaded into carrying baskets. The relish food of the matapule may be taken away; and the younger brother may drink the kava.

The following account of the kava circle of the Tamaha is translated from a manuscript by Elia Malupo, matapule of the Tui Tonga:

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

finished the vessel returned to Haapai and reported that the fort of Nukualofa had been dug. Taufaahau told the men to go and beach the vessel at Haano and repair it. It was then brought and they went to Vavau. The name of the vessel was the Tausala. The vessel arrived at night and all Vavau assembled to receive it. Taufaahau told of the report that had come from Tonga concerning the digging of the fort. He also told them that he was going at once to Tonga. They stayed one night, then sailed (after the Sabbath). They anchored at Fakaamumei, Lifuka Island, landed there, and went to Pangai. Tutoe was told to go and have the Sabbath at Haano and return early on Monday and Taufaahau told Lausii and many of the warriors of Taufaahau to proceed in the vessel Vahaafonua to Haafeva and that he would follow in the Tausala. We anchored at Haafeva. From there he told us to sail to Tungua. There we took on board a man called Vaea and some others. Then we set sail and went to Tonga. That was New Year's Eve. 173 669 726

At dawn we were tacking between Pangaimotu and Fafa islands. It was difficult because there was a north wind. The vessel of the king turned and went before the wind past the sunken reef near Maufanga. The people from the fort went down to the shore and beat drums and shouted abusive language. They shouted, "The surprise attack has been overtaken by the day." We arrived at Nukualofa and remained quiet as it was the Sabbath, although all Tonga had assembled at Maufanga during the Sabbath. [502]

The army landed at Fongoloa when the tide was out. One was wounded but none killed. We cleared the outside of the fort and after that we went up to Takoto. When we returned it was dark. In the morning we went and brought the chief Fohe from Puke and then we rested a little. A message was brought that we were to go to the mount (*sia*) in Nukualofa; i.e., to Mt. Zion. There the army was told that they were to storm the fortress Ngeleia. And Taufaahau spoke and said to leave Ngeleia to him and his vessels or warriors. While Nukualofa's army went and looked from the *tavahi* tree to see if there was any army coming from Maufanga, Taufaahau's army went to Takoto and Taufaahau again spoke to the army there. He told them to raise their bands and swear that there would be no one allowed to escape from the fort (Ngeleia). They were told to go by the marshes and then to rush into the fort. It was a dangerous place that the army rushed into, marshy and overgrown with prickly grass and difficult to walk on. Notwithstanding this, they stormed the fort and all the people of the fort were killed. The brave warriors from Pea that were hostile to Nukualofa were killed. Kaufusitua who left Haapai because he was angry with Taufaahau was killed. Taufaahau's warriors took all the wealth (mats, tapa, etc.) and seized the spoil and returned to Nukualofa. [This massacre took place in 1837, at least eight years after Taufaahau had become a Methodist and two years after he had preached his first sermon.]

After a time we were told one day to go to the sand banks on the way to Hihifo, and to go openly. We were seen by the fort called Hule. They waited till they had heard from the other forts, so as to know all about the army that was outside the fort. A large vessel was anchored near the sand banks. It was a ship that Vuki had brought from Fiji. They were told to burn it with fire and the army went on to Teekiu. They went openly, not secretly. They went up from the sea and rushed on the fortress of Motuapuaka called Kolovai (in Teekiu). It looked as though the [people of the] fort had overslept themselves. There was no shouting or shooting or spearing. We bruised and took them alive. Only one man was killed and he because he was abusive to Taufaahau because he came so often from Haapai. Another was shot by Salo. The people were led captive through the sand banks and the spoil was taken away. There was much wealth in the fort (tapa, mats, etc.). The army was pleased with the spoil. But Taufaahau spoke and said, "You must pardon, but you must collect the goods of Motuapuaka and his friends and bring them here, because they are poor. Bring the goods for them to have." No one took anything away. We came to Nukualofa and repaired the fort and dwelt there. We did not seek any more war. 173 727 669

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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not only always wet, but so replete with water that it was constantly flying off in abundance on the application of the axe; this on a sudden thought puzzled him; it seemed to him strange that the superabundance of water should not run off before it got to the top: Mr. Mariner began his explanation, thus, "In consequence of the quick successive revolutions of the stone" —when on a sudden Finow eagerly exclaimed (as if a new light had shot across his mind) "Now I understand why the antipodes do not "fall off the earth,—it is in consequence of the "earth's quick revolution!"—This was a false explanation, and he himself soon saw that it was, much to his disappointment; but it shews the activity of his mind, and how eager it was to seize every idea with avidity that seemed to cast a radiance upon the object of his research.

On another occasion they were returning to Vavaoo from the Hapai islands, where the king had been to fetch some of his property, consisting chiefly of things which originally belonged to the officers of the Port au Prince: among others there was a box containing sundry small articles and a pocket compass; the latter he did not know the use of, and had scarcely yet examined. During the whole day it was nearly calm, and the paddles were for the most part used: a breeze, however, sprang up after dark,

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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accompanied with a thick mist: taking it for granted that the wind was in its usual direction, they steered the canoe accordingly, and sailed for about two hours at the rate of seven knots an hour. As they did not reach the shores of Vavaoo, the thought now occurred to Mr. Mariner that the wind might possibly have changed, and in that case, having no star for a guide, a continuance of their course would be exceedingly perilous; he therefore searched for the compass to judge of their direction, when he was much alarmed to find that the wind had chopped round nearly one quarter of the compass. He mentioned this to the king, but he would not believe that such a trifling instrument could tell which way the wind was: and neither he, nor any other chief on board, was willing to trust their lives to it: if what the compass said was true, they must indeed be running out to sea to an alarming distance; and as night was already set in, and the gale strong, their situation was perilous. Most on board, however, thought that this was a trick of Mr. Mariner to get them out to some distant land, that he might afterwards escape to Papalangi; and even Finow began to doubt his sincerity. Thus he was in an awkward predicament: he was certain they were going wrong, but the difficulty was how to convince them of what was now, in all

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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probability, essential to their existence, for the weather threatened to be bad, and it seemed likely that the night would continue very dark. At length, he pledged his existence for their safety, if they would but follow his advice, and suffer him to direct their course; and that they should kill him if they did not discover Vavaoo, or some of the other islands, by sunrise. This pledge was rather hazardous to him, but it would have been still more so, for them all, to have continued the course they were then in. They at length consented; the canoe was immediately close hauled, and Mr. Mariner directed their steering; the gale luckily remained nearly steady during the night; all on board were in great anxiety during the whole time, and Mr. Mariner not the least so among them. In the morning, as soon as the light was sufficiently strong, a man, who was sent up to the mast-head, discovered land, to the great relief of their anxiety; and the rising sun soon enabled them to recognize the shores of Vavaoo, to their unspeakable joy, and, in particular, to the wonder and amazement of Finow, who did not know how to express his astonishment sufficiently at the extraordinary properties of the compass. How such a little instrument could give information of such vast importance, produced in him a sort of respect-

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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ful veneration, that amounted to what was little short of idolatry; for finding that Mr. Mariner could not explain why it always pointed more or less to the north, he could hardly be persuaded but what it was inspired by a *hotooa*. He was so pleased with this property of the compass, that he almost always carried it about him afterwards: using it much oftener than was necessary both at sea and on shore, for it always seemed a new thing to him.

It may easily be supposed, that Finow, with such an inquiring mind as he possessed, took delight in every thing that afforded him instruction, or satisfied his curiosity; not only in regard to things that were very extraordinary, but those also that were moderately common and useful. He was accustomed, therefore, to visit the houses of canoe-builders and carpenters, that he might learn their respective arts, and he often made very judicious observations. He very frequently went into the country to inspect the plantations, and became a very good agriculturist, setting an example to all the young chiefs, that they might learn what was useful, and employ their time profitably. He used to say, that the best way to enjoy one's food was to make oneself hungry by attending to the cultivation of it.

There were many individuals at the Tonga

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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rect: another describes the visit of Admiral d Entrecasteaux: another the revolution of Tonga, and the famous battle that was there fought, &c. The song which is given in the first volume, p. 293, belongs to this class of musical composition. Some of these songs have neither regular measure nor rhyme, but others have both.

Oóbe; this kind of singing is always accompanied with the *fángo-fángo,* (or nose-flute): the subjects of the song are much the same as those last described, but the style of music is different, being more monotonous and grave. It is now very seldom sung.

Tow álo, is never accompanied with instrumental music; they are mostly short songs, sung in canoes when paddling, the strokes of the paddle being coincident with the cadence of the tune. They are very frequently sung on leaving Vavaoo, whilst paddling out of the inlet. It may not be unacceptable to give the following as an example: it is a very usual one, and expresses regret at leaving Vavaoo and its beautiful prospects, famous for the manufacture of superior *toogi hea,* (gnatoo stained with the *hea,*) to go to the islands of Toofooa and Kao, noted for making coarse mats.

Oiáooé! goóa mów téoo felów,
Ca toógoo Móonga-láfa, béa mo Talów!

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

Next morning Maafu sent the boys to another water hole called Muihatafa, which lay in an opposite direction to Atavahea, and from which they were to bring him water. The water, however, must be obtained from the bottom of the pond, as water from that part of the pond had an especially fine flavor. Maafu did not tell the lads that in this water hole there lurked a huge parrot fish. Straightway the lads went and on their arrival at the water hole, one waded in and dived down to the bottom of the pond. Hardly had he reached the bottom when he saw an enormous parrot fish (*humu*) rushing at him with gaping jaws. Without a moment's hesitation, he thrust his arm down its throat. Rising to the surface he held it up to his brother's view, exclaiming: "Here is a fine fish for Maafu."

The two young men returned to Vaini with the water and the fish. When Maafu saw them approaching he lost all patience and said angrily to them: "I am tired and disgusted with the way you have been behaving yourselves. You have been most mischievous, breaking my nephew's leg and endangering my life on several occasions. I have come to the conclusion to give you each a plantation (*api*) far from this town, so that you will not be able to worry us any further."

The lads, realizing what Maafu's feelings were, replied: "Do not trouble to do that. We will go of our own accord and so far away that you cannot reach us. We will take our duck and our fish and go up to the sky and live there. Should you want to see us, you will only have to look up on a dark night, and if we want to see you, we will only have to look down." So the lads went to the sky and are there to this day. Navigators know that should they steer their course by the stars Maafu Toka and Maafu Lele, it will bring them to Vaini. These stars are known to astronomy as the Magellan clouds.

THE ORIGIN OF THE MAGELLAN CLOUDS[*]

(A Variant)

This is a story about Maafu Toka and Maafu Lele. It is said that Maafu Tukuiaulahi was once the greatest chief (*hau lahi*) in Tonga and that he lived at Vaini, where he had a well or spring called Felefonua. It is said that around it stood trees called *fetaanu* and in the trees lived a large female lizard (*pili*).

When Maafu Tukuiaulahi came to the well for his bath, he used to bring a coconut husk, which he tore up to scrub himself with. After his bath he would put it on the root of one of the *fetaanu* trees. Then the lizard would come and suck the coconut fiber. It did this until it became

[*] Told by Mesake Lomu, of Fotua, Fea island, Rotuma.

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

deck of the smaller canoe, where he really belongs, and where his talent in song and verse is useful, to spring to the steer-oar. "That we may be equal" seems to be an equalizing of Mamaeaepoto with men in general for, though it would not seem that Falepapalangi claimed much skill in a canoe, still he had normal hands and Mamaeaepoto had not. The oars were in pairs, and the sense may be more exclusively the figurative one of claiming equality with Falepapalangi, who represents himself and Mamaeaepoto as a pair of rowers or steersmen, working in successful partnership at their task of providing entertainment. [539]

14. Falepapalangi returns to the claim of seamanship with another gibe at Mamaeaepoto's hands. The *huasi* was a short pole, lashed outboard from the outrigger canoe, on which, in rough weather, a man stood, moving along it to keep the boat's balance; from here he also gave sailing directions. Obviously it was not the place for a man who was not physically perfect. Furthermore, if he needed anything, for instance food, it was simply thrown to him. Hence the gibe. [501] [502]

15. The word *ama* is the name of the smaller of the two canoes in a double canoe, where the passengers and those not on duty sit, and pass the time in conversation and singing; *mata'u* is the name of the larger of the two canoes where the work is done. Hence *lau-ama*, sing, *lau-mata'u*, work. [502]

16. "Stand in the song," that is, dance; a more literal translation would be "sing standing." The hands are clapped in much of the dancing. [535]

Pages 69-70. A dance song of Falepapalangi

1. The phrase *toi he lilo* is from the game of hide-and-seek. The poet advises the rival to keep out of sight, but if he is unwilling to be hidden at any rate not to attempt to equalize himself with men who can really do things. [524]

2. The word *lupe* means pigeon, and has reference to the sitting on the deck of the canoe chatting and singing. The pictures of sea life throughout the piece are to be taken literally, and with metaphorical application to skill in poetry.

3. The decking in the forward part of canoe, where men fit for difficult work were stationed, was termed *faka-lakepa*. In rough weather men sometimes lay there, forming a living bulwark to prevent the boat from being swamped. [501] [502]

4. I have not been able to ascertain the meaning of the word *takotofa*, but from the context it seems to be a part of the boat for passengers and men not on duty.

5. The metaphor changes to that of a sea-bird seeking food. The rival is the bird, wearied with a long and fruitless flight, "I will get in ahead of him by a short cut, by another road."

6. The pigeon-snaring mounds, which were such a favorite theme of poetry. [538]

7. Possibly refers to a victory of the bard at Matahina, a reef in Vavau, a famous shark-fishing ground. If Mamaeaepoto is the rival all the more point is given to Falepapalangi's claim of victory over him in respect of localities in Vavau.

8. The lines beginning "In the land, thou saidst, I delight" have some reference to actual seamanship, yet the main current of meaning concerns poetry. When it looked as though Tonga would be beaten in the contests of bards, Falepapalangi was able to steer her to victory.

Pages 70-71. A poem of Mamaeaepoto

1. Fifita and Ulialangatau are probably *matapule* of Ulukalala. 539

2. That you would honor me. 484

3. His skill in verse is the reason that the poet was to hold himself in readiness to sail. 505

4. The remark is addressed to the assemblage to whom he actually recited the poem. 837

5. Two currents of thought are expressed; one complimentary, the other not. Women are not regarded as useful members of the crew in working the boat, but are appreciated for their assistance in minor matters that make for the comfort of voyaging, and especially for the brightness they give by their presence and conversation and song. [562]

6. "We shall fashion a wonder boat, whose different parts are the localities named; our boat shall be a song celebrating all these places." Since different localities are accustomed to cooperate in large tasks, this carries the sense of a grandiloquent call by the disappointed man to all these places—islands, hills, and beaches.

7. Moahengi is apparently the name of a man in Uiha, an island of Haapai.

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

6. The references are to various mats of Tonga and to collecting them, figuratively, as a gift in honor of the dead man. The italicized words are names of mats. Tungua, Matuku, Uiha, Lifuka, are all in Haapai.

7. The reference is to the Tamaha (the daughter or son) of the Tui Tonga Fefine. The Tamaha lived in Tungua. Here she is called Falotuma, a species of hala. "Even if a mat obtained from Tungua should prove to be of not much account as a mat yet it derives value from its origin in the island of Tamaha" (12, pp. 178-189).

7a. "Mat of red feathers" means "mat adorned with red feathers." The form *hulu hula* is interesting, as the normal Tongan would be *fulu kula*. This form hints at the likelihood of the introduction of the adornment of mats with red feathers from some one or other of the groups of islands farther east.

8. Plover (*kiu*) and double-bird (*manulua*) are two of the designs used on the native cloth.

9. Toku is a name occurring in several parts of Tonga (21), but evidently here it is one or other of the places so named in Vavau.

10. Late is a high volcanic island southwest from the main part of the Vavau group. "Clothing for Mua" (the capitol) would be a mat of good kind that was customarily used as a dress for Mua.

11. The poet having finished what he has to say about the mats and cloth of Tonga will now sail to Samoa to collect further wealth. Ulamoleka is still remembered as a very expert navigator, and these lines give him the opportunity to use his knowledge of the stars. The names used, such as Amonga and Tupa (16, pp. 4-9) are star names. The opportunity of direct identification of the stars by their Tongan names seems to have passed irrevocably. Amonga, which is not included in my earlier list, is given by Pratt, for Samoa, as "The name of the stars which form the belt of Orion.' Alotulu seems to be another name for the same stars. A very important part of the equipment of the skillful navigator was the knowledge when to leave one star as a guiding mark and pass on to the next (compare "Then pass on and leave," line 43). These lines may recall a voyage which Ulamoleka and Falepapalangi had actually made in company to Samoa.

12. These lines seem to mean that Ulamoleka was able to keep his boat ahead of Falepapalangi's, probably recalling a voyage they had made.

13. Manuka, or Manua, the eastern part of Samoa.

14. Nafanua was a goddess of Savaii, one of the eastern islands of Samoa. She was the daughter of Saveasiuleo, god of Pulotu (36, p. 38; 26, vol. 1, p. 23). In Tongan myth Nafanua is the twin sister of Topukulu, and the daughter of Tokilangafonua and his sister Hina. Tokilangafonua went to Samoa and thither the twin sisters, who were then joined back to back, swam to find him. Their father on seeing them and not knowing who they were, made as though he would strike them; in their alarm the girls jumped apart and were separated. The girls did not know their father, and in their ignorance both became pregnant to him. Topukulu became the mother of the sea god Hemoanauliuli, and Nafanua, of the goddess Tafakula, of Eua. The lines in the poem would seem to mean that Falepapalangi was to remain in Savaii while Ulamoleka passed on eastwards to Manua, although the preceding lines would imply that they both went to Manua. Nafanua is one of the notable personalities on the way, and they turn aside to honor her, either by an actual going ashore and presenting kava at her temple, or, more probably, by the poet honoring her by remembrance in his verses.

15. Sau and Leiataua are said to be two chiefs in Samoa to whom Tongans used to go for mats.

16. The translation of this line uncertain.

17. The names mentioned are places in Fiji, which are now called upon to furnish their quota of fit presents.

18. The text at this place is bad and both text and translations are conjectural.

19. I can not find any appropriate meaning for the Tongan word *kouta*, and conjecture that it is the Fijian *ngqouta* (strike), though it is doubtful if even this would give an appropriate meaning.

20. The "hidden wealth" is presumably the gift of the bard. Why this should weary him is difficult to see, unless the meaning is that while he had been thinking of mats and cloth for a present the hidden wealth of his muse has been longing to break forth.

21. With the picture of the pigeon not yet properly trained and breaking its

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8. The incident of the land-fishing of the Maui is introduced to lead up to the work of Loau, and also as an instance of where even gods did not disdain work of just the kind that Ulamoleka himself is doing.

9. Loau (12, pp. 177, 178; 22, pp. 71-75) is remembered as the one who divided the land among the various chiefs, and left ordinances about the kava, and kindred matters.

10. Poukula is in Hihifo in Tongatabu. It is said that an axe was left there by Captain Cook. To be like an old axe is proverbial for what is worn out and inefficient.

11. To be understood as relating literally to Ulamoleka's skill as a fisherman, and figuratively, to his successes among the ladies.

12. The Hifofua was the canoe of the Tui Kanokupolu. Her crew were all picked men; quite possibly chosen literally in the manner indicated, by skill and strength in dart-throwing. Ulamoleka is the captain of this fine body of men—and yet this girl has the assurance to regard him as too old for her. Again, later in the poem, is a reference to another allegation against him, namely, that he was without accomplishments. A man to be a member of the King's crew must have had in no mean degree at least one valued accomplishment of athletic youth, namely, dart-throwing.

13. This address is made probably to the girl by Ulamoleka telling her to trust for his merits to the favors he has received from women in many places. Places are mentioned where he has had sweethearts, some of which at least are the abodes of great chiefly families.

14. The land side of the road and the lower (sea) side, are very important divisions in Tongan society. The land side is the Tui Tonga, his chiefs and people immediately connected with them; the lower side is all else (12, p. 177). Lapaha (compare Fijian Lambasa) is the village near to the compound of the Tui Tonga. Ohomafua is a site not now identifiable, presumably the site of a compound near Lapaha where the Tui Haatakalaua or the Tui Kanokupolu lived. Pangai, a widespread and important name, was applied to residences of the Tui Kanokupolu. Gifford notes a compound of this name which was a residence of the Tui Kanokupolu near Tatakamotonga part, of the modern village of Mua, near Lapaha. Ahau (compare Samoan Asau), also a widespread and important name, is apparently especially associated with the Tui Kanokupolu. Gifford notes a compound of this name near Lapaha.

15. "As of a double mat was report" may refer to the preceding line, Pangai and Ahau, seats of greatness, famous as a famous double mat, but it seems better to take the line with the one following and refer it to the hapless maiden of Niua. Ulamoleka "heard a great deal about her, but it turns out that there is no bulk in this great mat."

16. Matamoanauta and Faatalamatatua are said to be in Hihifo, Tongatabu, though Matamoanauta is noted by Gifford as near Hamula, which is at the other extremity of Tongatabu. The girl is recommended to go to these places with the man whom she has preferred before Ulamoleka. He taunts this out-island girl, telling her to go to places where there is really something worth while, and where she will hear something about the man she has rejected.

17. Poulalahi; evidently a shrine, or sanctuary.

18. The line of mounds; the pigeon-snaring mounds in Hihifo. Ulamoleka was connected with the chiefs of Hihifo through his mother. On his father's side he was a descendant of Tungi Manaia, who belonged to the Tui Tonga families of eastern Tongatabu.

19. To be in Haapai but not in Tofua, the volcanic mountain island on the western fringe of the Haapai group, is a proverbial expression for an untravelled, or incompletely travelled man. The poem says the hundred hills of the crest of Tofua could tell why Ulamoleka has not been seen more in the games and festivals ashore; he has not become better known because his life has been spent in voyaging to all sorts of places.

20. One copy reads *Si'i anga 'oe 'au na luma* (dear manner of that reproach of thine), which gives good sense. The other copy, which I have followed, reads *Si'i anga 'oe aualuma*. The word *aualuma* is rare in Tongan and it probably is not Tongan, and Pratt gives the meaning for Samoan, "a company of single ladies," which fits the context admirably. Further, as a matter of criticism, the change from *aualuma*, a word strange to the majority of Tongans, to *'au na luma*, is more likely than that the change was made in the opposite direction.

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place at sea, a reef, where the *talu* are plentiful. Probably it is the proper name of a reef or stretch of sea. Halakakala is a fishing ground, a reef, of the Tui Tonga, near Eueiki. Haa Maafu is the Tui Tonga; Haa Ngata, the great house of which the Tui Kanokupolu is head. These may not be literally the names of sea localities, but introduced figuratively, because of the connection he claimed with both these houses. Tupou, the title of the Tui Kanokupolu, is also the name of several localities (21). The one whose fame is spoken of is Ulamole'a himself, named in the next line the king of the men of the ocean.

31. Here is portrayed the grief and indignation in various localities in Tonga when they hear of the affront that Ulamoleka has suffered.

32. Matamoana and Halaevalu are names of two pigeon-snaring mounds in Tongatabu.

33. Anganangana (Whispering hedge) is said to be a locality in Hihifo, Tongatabu. Probably it is a sanctuary, and the meaning is that the power of the temple has not been sufficiently potent for success in the undertaking.

34. Nakau and Fungaana are place names distributed in various parts of the group. Gifford notes a Fungaana in Niua Toputapu. Doubtless there is a Nakau in Niua Toputapu also.

35. Luatangata is a star name, and probably so is Alovalu. Vaea is a chief. Luatangata and Alovalu may be the nicknames of chiefs.

36. Pouvalu is noted by Gifford as the name of a house of the Tui Tonga.

37. A reminiscence of some voyage may be indicated or merely the wide extent of his travels. Probably also a hint is made of his high connections, which extend to Samoa. Tutuila is in eastern Samoa, and the Tui Kanokupolu is connected with the lords of Manua in eastern Samoa. Up until quite recently it was customary for the Tui Kanokupolu to acknowledge the connection by visits to the Tui Manua.

38. A sign of good seamanship is to come to the anchorage with the sail, instead of working in with oars. Kolongahau is a famous harbor of the Tui Tonga in Mua.

39. Lala is the name of a tree. This launching place is not now known. Evidently it was marked by a lala tree, or by a clump of these trees.

40. "I shall no longer base my claim to better treatment on my connection with chiefs; I shall leave that boat of high connection and strike out relying only on my own merits."

41. "Even though the way is not so good, yet I shall strike out on it."

42. Longoakau and Alakihaafata are the names of localities in which is spread the report of the prowess of Ulamoleka.

43. In the bonito fishing if a boat were full of fish, and yet caught more, the tails of the fish which could not be taken to shore were broken off, the mutilated fish were thrown back into the sea and the tails taken as trophies.

44. Haa Loau occurs as a place name in several parts of Tonga. Probably the locality indicated is in Lifuka, Haapai, where is Tongoleleka, mentioned in the next line. A scion of the Tui Tonga house still lives at Tongoleleka.

45. Probably a double strand of meaning is intended: that Ulamoleka's love will be consoled by some other woman, although it has gone through such unquiet waters, and also that his long poem is almost ended, although the bark of poesy has sailed seas of unfriendliness and misrepresentation.

46. The simile of pigeon-snaring is again employed. If there be an uneven number of birds there is great difficulty in netting them, since the odd bird flies hither and thither, seeking a mate and so disturbing all the flock. Hence, the girl Ulamoleka went to marry is a restless pigeon flying about in all directions so that he can not capture her.

47. This line is omitted in the copy printed in Koe Makasini.

48. House of the snarers (*fale fcao*) is not the house on the mound where the snaring is actually done, but the house near the mound in which the cooking for the sportsmen was done.

49. "I shall make no further effort to catch this strong, far-ranging pigeon, who does not wish to be caught by me, and perhaps after all I am just as well out of it. One never knows what he has got in pigeon-hunting—and in marriage." The expression *tufa mei vao*, distributed from the bush, means "the catch is not taken home to the village and there gone through and allotted, but the distribution is done on the mound itself, and one does not see very well what he has got, but just takes his luck."

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Pages 119-120. If there be a stranger

1. This line is the refrain, sung after every line.
2. Haapuopuai, a pool on shore near Mua.
3. Talilaki, a difficult opening in the reef passed through in going by sea from Nukualofa to Mua.
4. Nukufeheaki; unidentified in this locality, is probably an islet.
5. The *mohokoi*, a tree with sweet-smelling flowers; is apparently that known to Europeans as ylang-ylang (*Cananga odorata*).
6. Apparently a woman is represented as the speaker, addressing a lover who has come over the sea, and must return to the land whence he came. Oil is given by women.
7. Vaiola and Hunibush are nicknames apparently of chiefs and lovers of the speaker's own land. She would have given the stranger oil and garlands, but these other two have prevented her, at least from giving as much as she had intended.
8. Halaleva is a road near Nukualofa, famed for the plentifulness of its fragrant plants and flowers. The women of this favored spot scent themselves by placing leaves in the *kona*, the fold of the *vala* at the waist.
9. The names mentioned in this passage are all of localities.
10. The *faonelua* is a species of *Pandanus*, very rare and highly valued. One of these trees stands in Mua, and is commonly reported to be the only one in Tonga.
11. Lapaha, a part of Mua.
12. The reference is to *funganiua*, the *siʻi*, leaf girdle and skirt, with a double row (*fungani*) of plaiting entwined with flowers, at the top.
13. At Mua festivals and garlands are so common that the fragrant *siʻi* is the girdle even of commoners.
14. The green in Mua, Feingakotone, is where the festivals and sporting contests (*kotone*) of the Tui Tonga were held. It is not so much a name as a descriptive title of this place, *feinga* meaning doing-place, place where a thing is done. The word is much like the English Sports Ground.
15. Folaosioeiki, a place name.
16. This line is not clear. Provisionally I have taken Takuimalae as the name of a *malae*, but taku, or *takui*, may be a tree standing on a green (*malae*).
17. Takuilau, Ahofakasiu, and Fepaki are place names; Tangitangi is probably a place name also, though the word means opening of the buds, and it is possible that the line should read, "Takuilau with opening flowers."

Page 121-125. Chanties

1. "Carried astern," going astern, may mean that the chanty was sung while the canoe was going astern, or the reference may allude to something in the form of the chanty itself. The composer says that he should be rewarded with sweet-smelling garlands (*pipitongi* and *loiohea*), or that the chanty itself is pleasant like these fragrant things. For a different interpretation see Gifford (21, p. 17).
2. Keitahi and Falofilimoto are localities on the weather shore of Vavau.
3. The sites of Tuniloa and Tele are not identified. Both names are listed by Gifford; but not as of natural features suitable to this contest. The lookout place (*matanga*) is a commanding position whence a good view of sea or land can be obtained. The same word is used of a thing seen, a notable object; and also of the spectators at a festival.
4. Fangmofuike (Beach of earthquake) is a beach in Vavau, evidently where the women resort to bathe and dress their hair with lime. This is unlikely a reference to any particular woman, but a general description of what happens at this beach.
5. These verses appear to be rather an ungallant address to a lady, intimating that she must look elsewhere for a lover.
6. Valefanau is a locality near Kolovai, the principal village of Hihifo. Iloituunga is probably the name of a place in the same neighborhood.
7. This is an old chanty, still used in dragging sleds on which large presentations of food are placed (*toko umu*). The *pekipaki* is a sea creature popularly called blue-bottle. The singer likens himself to sea creatures able to outlast the rigors and hardships of the sea. The term *fiuanga* here means one who contends with and overcomes sea, cold, and wind.

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539 225 183 arises between them the blame should fall not on the stationary *kaloaa* but on the boat which went to the place where the *kaloaa* lives.

246. Utu tahi moe alaala too: Carrying seawater and rummaging for the *too*, a kind of shell-fish.

Literally this indicates one who has been to the sea to bring water and while there has taken the opportunity to do a little shell fishing. It is applied to one who while ostensibly occupied about some task, or in doing some errand, has taken the opportunity presented by this job of doing some private business. An illustration of it is a person apparently very willing to go on an errand for another, but whose real reason for going is the opportunity that will be given to meet someone whom he is anxious to see.

SHIPS AND SAILING

539 501 **247. Faka-fotu-la:** Appearing by sail.

The appearance of the sail of a boat too far out at sea for her hull to be distinguished is not always a safe guide in estimating the size of the vessel, as little ships sometimes have big sails. This is said to have been notably the case with the old Tongan canoe called the *tongiaki*.

539 502 **248. Fakahua kae paea pe:** Tacking but just drifting.

A sea expression meaning a boat which is beating up against the wind but making little headway, being drifted out of her course by currents [461] or waves. Applied to a man who is working against obstacles but whose efforts are not meeting with much success.

539 431 **249. Fakato vaka a Kupolu:**

We have not been able to get any explanation of this phrase. The meaning given by Baker is, "To give and take again by force." (An English and Tongan and Tongan and English Vocabulary, p. 297.) The literal meaning seems to be, "Handing over a boat of (or by) Kupolu," and probably there is connected with it a story of a boat given to the people of Upolu in Samoa, or given by them to someone else, and then taken back by the original owner.

539 501 **250. Fakatou katea:** Both *katea*.

The *katea* is the larger of the two canoes in the Tongan double boat. If both canoes are large and capacious so that scarcely any distinction can [593] be made between them they might be described as both *katea*. The expression is applied in various ways, as of a well mated couple, or generally of two things which are both good and useful of their kind.

539 502 **251. Foa kau tuu:** Smash, I'll stand, that is, stand safely on the shore.

Used of a boat in danger near the land the crew of which determine to let her drive on shore regardless of rocks or breakers. The boat will

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certainly be smashed but her human occupants have a chance of life. Human life is more valuable than any boat. 539 502 [181]

252. Hange ha fana fotu: Like a mast that shows up. 539 501

Refers to a tall mast which stands out clearly among other masts and which appears for a long distance at sea. Used of that which is obvious. "Plain as mud in a wine glass," "Plain as the nose on your face." (Compare No. 331.)

253. Hange ha lingi lolo ki ha tahi peaua: Like pouring oil on a rough sea. 539 823

The Tongans have long been familiar with the effect of oil on rough water. Sometimes if no oil were at hand but coconuts were available they would chew coconut flesh and spit it out on to the rough sea. The metaphorical application is identical with the English, "Pouring oil on the troubled waters."

254. Hao he afa kae ngoto he tofu: Safe from the hurricane but sunk in the calm. 539 829

This picture of a boat surviving great peril but perishing in calm through the folly or carelessness of her crew is applicable in the same way as the like idea is in English.

255. Kanakana fai ki tahi: Eating carried out at sea. 539 264 505 571

At sea some people are sick and cannot eat. A greedy man might put off eating till at sea knowing that some of his party who would have enjoyed food ashore will have no inclination for it at sea, and that thus there will be the more left for himself.

256. Ka ne faifai kau faka-hamahama: If it had been that I had acted *hama* fashion. 539 501 461

The *hama* was the leeward boat in the double canoe, also the outrigger in the single canoe. In the double canoe the *hama* is smaller than the windward boat and is less used for passengers and cargo. Employed here to indicate a failure to act to the full extent of one's capacity. Used by one who has done his utmost and has accomplished a difficult task. If I had not done my best (I could not have done what I have done).

257. Kataki e mama moe hopohopokia: Eating a leak with seas coming on board. 539 505 264

Kataki is to eat one thing as relish to another. In this expression the seas coming over the side are the relish to the leak. To be involved in the double danger of a leak and rough sea. Generally of a double misfortune or peril.

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539 505 **258. Kehe a Tonga nae folaua kae kitenoa ai a Eua:** It was Tonga to which the voyage was being made and the appearance of Eua was of no account.

When boats are making for Tongatābu the high island of Eua shows up before the mainland is seen, but although Eua appears yet it is Tongatabu to which the boat is sailing and where she finally anchors. When one is in pursuit of some object the turning up of other things is a mere incident. This seems to be confined in its application to the case of a woman who falsely supposes that visits are being paid by a man to her when in reality they are paid to another lady living in the same place. The close association into which the lover is brought with the second girl is a mere incident of his courtship of the first.

539 502 **259. Ki ama tae alomua:** "To leeward" without being the man in the bow.

When two or more men are paddling the native canoe it is the duty of the foremost to give sailing directions, typified by "*ki ama*," "towards the outrigger or leeward canoe." Anyone who was not the bow man, and yet presumed to give instructions to the crew, would fall under the rebuke of this expression.

539 505 183 **260. Kite faka-fonua mounga:** In sight like mountainous country.

A mountain appears to the ship far out at sea but it is a long time before it is reached. A thing that appears but it is in reality far off and takes long to reach.

261. Koe mata mama: The chief leak.

In a boat which has filled and sunk there may be little leaks which in themselves would not have caused the disaster, but there is one big leak which is the real cause of the trouble. Generally of that which has been the fundamental reason of catastrophe.

539 502 571 **262. Laukau he tauala oe jiana kehe:** To be proud of another chap's coming up to the wind.

A metaphor from navigation, *tauala* being to luff up into the wind. Employed of the useless pride of one man in the achievements of another with which he himself has had nothing to do.

539 501 **263. Limua ae vaka:** The boat is covered with seaweed; that is, the boat has been neglected and left in the sea without use or without being hauled up for cleaning.

Applied to that which is suffering from long neglect and disuse; in the same way as we say in English that a thing is rusty.

539 505 **264. Lujia ki taulanga:** Weather-beaten to harbor.

The vessel although storm-tossed and battered has at length made port safely.

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539 181 **269. Matangi lelei to ki la mahaehae:** Good wind falling in torn sail.

This indicates good opportunities put into the hands of those incapable of turning them to advantage.

539 203 **270. Ongo fakaevaha:** News like that from the open sea; more literally from "between."

The stretch of sea separating one island from another is commonly spoken as "the between." One might employ the same mode of speech for being out at sea.

News from the open sea is the unreliable reports that travellers bring; yarns concocted while out at sea at a distance from good sources of information. It may be applied generally to stories that are not sufficiently founded on fact.

539 461 **271. Ohooho a liu lahi:** A large hold (of a boat) unfilled.

A large vessel of great carrying capacity may be unfilled and yet contain a very large cargo, while a small boat will be filled to overflowing by a much smaller load. Small people, and small receptacles, may appear to be carrying very large loads but in reality their burdens are much less than those easily borne by persons and vessels of greater capacity.

539 502 **272. Pata i la tuu** or **Pata i la kuo tuu:** Rejoicing in sail that is standing.

Used of a high degree of satisfaction, such as that which the sailor feels when the breeze is fair, the sail well filled, and the boat making good way.

273. Peau tupu-koso: Wave rising (at the) *koso*.

[50] The *koso* is an ornamental carving at the bow and at the stern of the canoe. The expression refers to a wave that rises right under the bow or stern of the boat and gives the steersman very little time or opportunity to ride it properly. Hence of danger or calamity which comes suddenly upon one giving him but little time either to avoid it or take measures to meet it.

274. Pelu la kei mamao: Reef sail still at a distance, that is, while the storm is still at a distance.

[181] To have everything snug and prepared in ample time to meet a threatened danger.

539 501 **275. Pili e tauhala:** Near the rope, or the rope is near.

The *tauhala* is a rope that was trailed astern in rough weather to afford succor to anyone who happened to be washed overboard. This expression is said to indicate primarily one who has been washed overboard and has nearly missed the saving rope; has nearly let it pass him before he

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has succeeded in seizing it. Generally of one who has had a narrow escape. To be exposed to danger (Baker). 539 501

276. Po fakafitaa uli: Night, persisting through difficulties (with) steering. 539 502 461 183

Literally applied to a boat making her way through storm and darkness; the steering of the vessel is rendered extremely difficult but the sailor sticks bravely to his task, and in spite of difficulty and peril, the vessel holds on her course. Applied generally to hard, arduous tasks, especially with the idea of going through with them, refusing to be daunted.

277. Punufuu hage ha fuu vaka Vavau: Obstructing like a great Vavau boat. 539 133 183

It is said that a boat coming from Vavau to Haapai was unlucky enough to run on one of the reefs there blocking the opening which was the entrance to the anchorage at that spot. The expression is applied, for example, to one who enters a room and plants himself down in front of the door.

278. Ta e lango kei mamao: Cut the slips still at a distance, that is, when the occasion for its use is still at a distance. 539 504 183

Lango, rendered here by slips, is a timber for raising anything on like the timbers on which a boat is pulled up out of the water or launched. The slips on which a boat is launched is probably the timber specifically indicated in this expression. The meaning is to have the preparations for launching all made beforehand so as not to waste time about it when the day comes to put the vessel into the water. Generally, to prepare well ahead for anything.

279. Takanga a tongiaki: A *tongiaki* in company. 539

The *tongiaki* is one of the old sailing canoes of Tonga, not so large or seaworthy as the more familiar *kalia*. A couple of these canoes might sail along in company in fair weather but if a storm sprang up neither could rely much on the other for assistance. They had neither the size nor the qualities to make them very serviceable companions in distress; in fact each would be hard enough put to it to secure her own safety. So used of fair-weather friends. 501 502 572 571

280. Takanga enau fohe: Mates (at) their oar; perhaps, their oars are mates. 539 461

The Tongan sailing canoes had two, sometimes three, steering oars. In calm weather one man apiece sufficed for these oars but in storm more would be required. This phrase indicates that the men at the oars, whether one at each or more, are well matched in skill and so the steering is done well and harmoniously. Men who are all capable workmen laboring together and carrying out their task ably and agreeably. 501 502

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285. Toki tau ae vaka e:

It is difficult to render this proverb literally. As nearly as possible it would be "The boat has but now reached land," but more in accord with the nuance of the Tongan phrase would be an appreciative "My word, the boat has made land at last. It is illustrated by a boat which has struck heavy weather and been forced to run for shelter to some port other than that for which she is making. At last, however, she is able to make the right harbor; the passengers and crew can go ashore for now they have really made the land and are not as before merely seeking a temporary shelter where they do not wish to be.

286. Tuai mei uta: Slow from the land.

The idea is that of delay in a place where one is comfortably placed and has occupation. One may keep a boat waiting while he is seeing to his affairs on shore, but there is more sense in spending time in a place where one has resources at his disposal than in wasting it in the condition of helplessness in which men find themselves at sea.

287. Tuku mo fai la: Letting down and making sail.

A busy port where boats are constantly coming and going. One boat no sooner comes to an anchorage and lowers her sail than another leaves her moorings and hoists her sail. Refers to that which is always busy and on the move. No sooner is one job finished than another is started, like a boat which accomplishes one voyage only to shortly commence another trip.

288. Tuu e la mo poupou: The sail standing with support.

In the Tongan sailing canoe a support was used to strengthen the mast. The sense of the phrase is to take every precaution; not only hoist your sail but see to it that it stands as firmly as possible. Applied generally with this meaning of doing everything to secure stability, success, safety.

289. Uta lea i vaka: Land speaking in boat.

A landsman offering advice or giving orders in a boat.

290. Vaka ki ua: (Making a) boat of neck or shoulders.

The boat is the means of carrying burdens but inland a boat is of no use, so that the neck or shoulders have to be used for this purpose.

291. Vakavaka mua: First boat.

The picture is that of a fast-sailing boat which out-distances other boats and reaches harbor first. Applied to one who is ever ready to speak. Before anyone else can say anything he thrusts in his advice or opinion.

CLIMATE AND SEASONS

292. Aho faka-ua: Double day.

Used of those times of the month when the moon is so bright that even after the sun has set, there is sufficient light to perform outside tasks, go journeys, and the like.

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Tongan Astronomy and Calendar

By E. E. V. Collocott

From the exceedingly fragmentary and obscure accounts it appears that the Tongans possess but the vaguest notions of the heavens and of the relations of the sky to stars and sun and moon. They evidently thought of a number of skies, one above the other. One informant expressed the opinion that the number of skies was as great as one hundred. He also suggested a connection between the skies and the great burial vaults at Mua and elsewhere, and it is worthy of note that sky and vault are called by the same name, *langi*. The stars are said to be in the highest sky.

So far as I have been able to discover, the study of astronomy was treated by the Tongans as a branch of navigation. Certain it is that these bold and skilful mariners were keen observers of the heavens and that no small part of the equipment of the old sea captains was the ability, based rather on experience and judgment than on rules, to determine when to shift from one star or constellation and to set the course by another group.

Practically the whole of the available star lore of the Tongans is embraced in sailing directions written by the late Tukuaho, a high chief who was Premier of Tonga about thirty years ago. Tukuaho, fortunately, was an intelligent diarist who carefully wrote down what he heard. His account, copied with permission of his son Tungi, Consort of Her Majesty Queen of Tonga, has been followed in the preparation of this paper.

Few if any living Tongans are able to point to and name more than a very small proportion of the stars, and only in rare instances have I been able to identify the stars named. This rapid decay of the old astronomy is doubtless due to the universal use of the mariner's compass. Star lore was preserved by the old navigators, but there is no longer need to rely upon it.

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DIVISIONS OF THE HEAVENS

The Tongan mariner divided the heavens into three areas or zones, called *fanakenga*, a word which apparently means risings (compare Samoan *fana'e*, rising of tide and moon: Maori, *whanake*, to move onwards or upwards). These three divisions are named respectively: Fakatonga (southward), the southern zone; Faka-loto-langi (mid-sky), the mid-sky zone; Faka-tokelau (northward), the northern zone. Guide stars were observed astern as well as ahead and the boat was kept in line with them. As the stars or constellations were probably used when at or near their meridians, different constellations were utilized at different seasons of the year. In the following list the stars seem to be arranged in the order in which they rise.

STARS OF THE SOUTHERN ZONE

1. **Houma-utu**, mentioned by Tukuaho as used at a time which corresponds to about March.
2. **Halla-toloa**, four stars (compare Samoan, *Saliatoloa*, the name of a certain star[1]).
3. **Toloa**, four stars.
4. **Lua-a-tangata**, two stars (compare Samoan, *Luatangata*, the name of two stars, Castor and Pollux).
5. **Moa-a-maho**, one star (compare Samoan, *Moa*, the name of a moon in the wet season).

This completes the southern zone as given by Tukuaho. Of these stars and constellations Toloa is the Southern Cross. Toloa means a wild duck, and Tongan imagination pictures the Cross as a duck whose head is gamma and tail alpha, the wings being beta and delta. The wing delta being dimmer than its fellow is said to have been injured by a stone thrown by the Two Men, Ongo Tangata, alpha and beta Centauri. The stone itself, *Maka*, is epsilon in the Cross.

Although Tongan confirmation is lacking, I think it probable that the Two Men, which are missing from Tukuaho's list, are to be identified with Lua-a-tangata, sometimes called Lua-ae-tangata. In its present form this name would mean man's vomit, but prob-

[1] Pratt, George, Grammar and dictionary of the Samoan language, 4th ed., Samoa, 1911.

9: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1922 OU9 Tonga OU9

The Akana mentioned is probably the Aana of Samoa. Pratt and Brown give Taulualofi and Tauluatuafanua as Samoan star names. Brown[9] suggests that the names mean the pair Lofi and Tuafanua, or that Lofi and Tuafanua were joined together as the Siamese twins. If this is the correct explanation there is doubtless some forgotten legend connected with the names. The Tongan forms suggest the possibility that the names are of topographical origin and refer to stars which rise respectively at the front and at the back of Aana, though in that case two pairs of stars, or two double stars rather than two single stars, would seem to be indicated. 821

STARS OF THE NORTHERN ZONE

1. **Ao-o-Uvea,** a circular constellation. The word means circlet of Uvea, and the cluster is said to owe its name to the fact that the mariner does not use it as a guide until it is standing like a circlet around Uvea. [502]
2. **Kapakau-o-Tafahi,** eight stars. The name means, wing of Tafahi (Boscawen Island). This cluster is said to be like a hen brooding over Tafahi with wings appearing on either side. It has been identified as Coma Berenices, but the identification is doubtful, as the honor is shared with the constellation Fatanalua.
3. **Tupa-a-Vaitupu,** three stars. This group is named after the crab (*tupa*), one star being called the Big Claw (Vae Lahi), and another the Little Claw (Vae Jii).
4. **Fatanalua,** eight stars. The word seems to mean double bier. The eight stars are divided into two groups of four, called respectively Upper Bier (Fata Olunga) and Lower Bier (Fata Lalo). This constellation also has been identified with Coma Berenices.
5. **Tuula-lupe,** five stars. The word means pigeon roost. Sailing directions, which are rather obscure, state that this constellation must not be used to steer by till it stands straight like a pigeon perch, which consists of a vertical upright with crosspiece at the top. In Samoa the same word is used as a star name. [502]
6. **Kaukupenga,** twelve stars. This constellation is said to stand round like a net (*kupenga*), possibly the pigeon snaring net. It may be the Corona Borealis, though there is no Tongan identification to support this supposition.
7. **Telengeho,** a single large star (compare Samoan, *Telengese*).
8. **Takelo,** two stars, so named from their yellow or ruddy tinge (*kelo*). Pratt gives *tuelo* as the Samoan name of a moon in the wet season.

[9] Brown, op. cit., p. 349

9: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1922 OU9 Tonga OU9

The stars listed for the three sky zones are arranged in the order given in Tukuaho's diary. I am indebted to Mr. E. W. Gifford for the following sailing directions given by the chief Maatu of Keppel Island, which lies far north of the main part of the Tongan group:

> In sailing south to Tongatabu, steer by Haliatoloa, Lua-ae-tangata, and Faipa.
>
> In sailing north to Keppel Island, steer by Faipa, Aloua (two-oared boat), Telengehe, Fatanalua, Tupa, Tuntangaufi, and Vai-utu-ki-tua (water carried outside) of which a variant is Utufi-ki-tua (carried outside).

It will be noted that most of the stars named by Maatu are included among those mentioned on the preceding pages but that Maatu's list does not follow the same order as the list arranged by Tukuaho. No living Tongan known to me is able to point out the various stars named, but I am of the opinion that for a conjectural reconstruction of the system the order given by Tukuaho can be followed with confidence.

THE SUN

When the sun sets it is said by the Tongans to go down to Lolofonua, the Underworld, the abode of the Maui, whence it issues at its rising, but I have been able to find no explanation of the sun's daily journey nor of its path between the Tropics. If native accounts existed of these phenomena they are entirely or almost forgotten. One informant said he had heard a story of the reason of the sun's setting but had forgotten it.

It is said that someone named Loau, who lived long before the Loau of Haamea in Tongatabu so famous in Tongan tradition, traveled to Samoa and thence to Tonga in search of the sun. But beyond this bare mention I have heard nothing of this personage and his quest.

A Tongan tradition connects Jinilau with the sun—Jinilau being said to be the son of the sun and a mortal woman. Throughout Polynesia there is an association of Jinilau with Hina, and the Tongan tradition states that Hina was married to Jinilau. Clouds on the eastern horizon at sunrise are said to be placed there to ensure privacy for the sun and Jinilau as they talk together.

10: Hornell E,N-4,5 (1925) 1936 OU9 Tonga OU9

sterns. In Cook's figure the outermost planks on each side are cut off short near the stern, thus forming an angular rest for the great steering paddle (fig. 191). In Tasman's sketch, a steering paddle is seen in operation on the leeward side of each hull at the after end of this platform. 175 501

Above the central section of each hull a long hatch was left open in the platform, wherein one of the crew was kept constantly bailing out the water that entered by the seams. Between these two hatchways a low arched hut thatched with palm leaves was placed for the use of the passengers and "to screen the crew from the sun and weather". A movable fireplace (*talafu*), shown in both Schouten's and Tasman's figures, was always carried—a square, shallow wooden trough filled with stones [and earth] (Cook, 1777, vol. 1, p. 217). [372]

The rig is thus described by Cook (1777, vol. 2, p. 18):

> Some [of their sailing vessels], and those of the largest size, are rigged so as to tack about. These have a short but pretty stout mast, which steps on a kind of roller that is fixed to the deck near the fore part. It is made to lean or incline very much forward; the head is forked; on the two points of which the yard rests, as on two pivots, by means of two strong cleats of wood secured to each side of the yard, at about one third its length from the tack or heel, which, when under sail, is confined down between the two canoes by means of two strong ropes, one to and passing through a hole at the head of each canoe; for it must be observed that all the sailing vessels of this sort are double. The tack thus fixed, it is plain that, in changing tacks, the vessels must put about; the sail and the boom on the one tack will be clear of the mast, and on the other it will lie against it, just as a whole mizzen. However, I am not sure if they do not sometimes unlace that part of the sail from the yard which is between the tack and the masthead, and so shift both sail and boom leeward of the mast. The drawings which Mr. Hodges made of these vessels seem to favor this supposition. . . . The outriggers and ropes used for shrouds, etc., are all stout and strong. Indeed, the sail, yard, and boom are all together of such an enormous weight that strength is required. 175 501 502

Cook here makes but bare mention of the long stout spar athwart the deck platform abreast of the mast, which projected outboard on either side to a considerable distance. Cook calls it "the outriggers"; properly it is an outrigged spar or balance spar. Its use was primarily to afford attachment to sundry shrouds and guys. Probably it also subserved the purpose of a spar whereon in heavy weather some hands might be stationed on the weather side as live ballast. Williams (1870, p. 64) describes the two ends as "projecting like monster horns".

Exactly how the rigging was arranged is difficult to determine, for the figures by Schouten, Tasman, and Cook disagree. In that of Schouten a guy, or it may be a spilling line, runs from the outer end of the balance spar on the weather side to a point on the yard well above the masthead: in Tasman's large figure it is attached half-way between the masthead and the tack. A short stay or guy is also shown running from each foredeck to the same point on the yard where is made fast the balance spar guy; these are the two ropes mentioned by Cook as confining the tack of the sail between the two hulls. In another of Tasman's figures, where some canoes lie at anchor, a shroud runs from the masthead on each side to an end of the balance spar; a backstay from the masthead is also present.

Two of the principal figures in a plate by Hodges, to which Cook refers, though agreeing in many details with Cook's description, do not agree in all (fig. 192):

> The double canoe in the center of the plate has no balance spar (Cook's "outrigger"): the mast is stepped to one side of the deck cabin; and the heel of the yard, instead of being confined between the heads of the two hulls, is stepped at the head of the port hull as in the *kalia*; features pertaining to the type of the *kalia* are combined with others belonging to the *tongiaki*, so producing a hybrid design. The double canoe on the right in the same plate, although only partly seen, is more typical of the *tongiaki* design as described by Cook; it

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 271]

10: Hornell E,N-4,5 (1925) 1936 OU9 Tonga OU9

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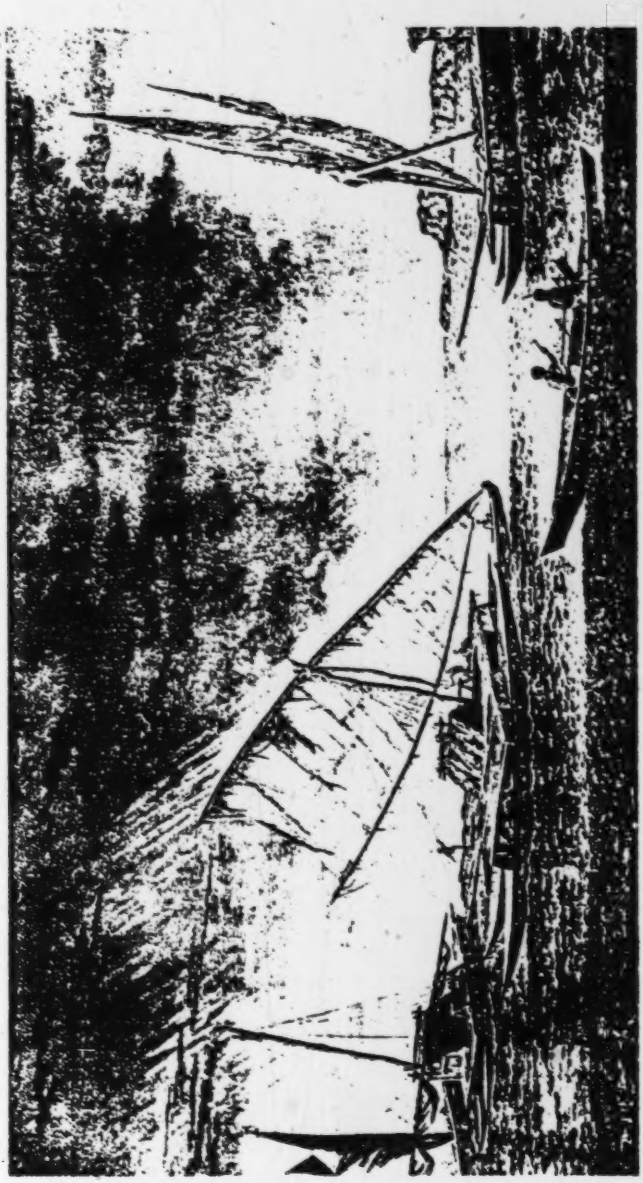

FIGURE 102.—Tongan double canoes; two seem to combine features of the *kalia* with others peculiar to the *tongiaki*; step cleats on after side of mast in canoe at right; in foreground a paddling canoe with stanchion connectives (from Cook, 1777, vol. 2).

10: Hornell E,N-4,5 (1925) 1936 OU9 Tonga OU9

shows the deck hut some distance aft of the mast, and the peculiar shoe in which the mast is stepped; a balance spar is present, abreast the mast but projecting only on the port side of the port hull, and a series of small step cleats are shown on the after side of the mast, as well as two broad cleats on opposite sides of the yard at the point where it rests on the forked masthead—features not present in the central figure. A third double canoe on the left in the drawing, though the hulls and platform are those of the *tongiaki*, has the mast stepped amidships, with deck fittings typical of the *kalia*.

Discrepancies are also seen in the drawing of a double canoe in an aquatint by Webber, who accompanied Cook on his third voyage (fig. 193):

FIGURE 193.—Tongan canoes seen on Cook's third voyage: center, a *tongiaki* having *kalia* features; left, four-boomed sailing outrigger with mast up and sail partly furled against it; balance spar on off-side (aquatint by Webber, published in 1791).

This vessel must be classed as a *tongiaki*, for the hulls are of equal dimensions and are similar in form, with a median row of knobs on each end decking as in the *tafa'anga*. The platform is not raised on a deep median washstrake as in the *kalia*, and there are no spars connecting the head and stern of one hull with the two lee corners of the platform. Conversely, the sail is slung by halyards from the masthead instead of resting in a fork or crutch and appears to be stepped amidships. No balance spar is shown, and the deck hut appears to have a platform over its roof, all characteristics of the *kalia* design.

It is most unlikely that Hodges and Webber should both by mistake mix up in their drawings the characteristics of the two types. The reasonable explanation of the departures from the *tongiaki* design shown in their figures is that the *kalia* design—a copy of the Fijian *ndrua*—which at the time of Cook's visits was in course of introduction into Tonga, had been adopted in part only by some of the Tongan chiefs; the inference is natural that, at the beginning of the transition phase, certain of the old *tongiaki* hulls were equipped with the rig and deck fittings of the *kalia*. Only by such hypothesis can the discrepancies noted be explained satisfactorily. A parallel is found in Rotuma.

The *tongiaki* required a steering paddle in each hull: Collocott and Havea (1922, p. 91) state that three were sometimes required for these vessels. They remark also that in fine weather one man apiece sufficed but that when it was stormy more were needed.

The principal features wherein the *tongiaki* differed from the *kalia* were: 1, in the approximate equality of the two hulls; 2, in sailing, the same ends were always

10: Hornell E,N-4,5 (1925) 1936 0U9 Tonga 0U9

directed forward and in consequence the manipulation of the sail was entirely different; 3, the mast was much shorter and had a forked head in which the yard rested, with the tack of the sail confined by ropes between the prows and not stepped at the fore end of one hull; 4, the presence of an outrigger balance spar; 5, the deck platform was relatively larger and extended considerably farther aft than in the *kalia*; 6, the deck shelter was a tunnel-shaped hut without a platform above the roof.

It is common tradition in Tonga today that the *tongiaki* was a notoriously difficult and dangerous craft to handle in bad weather and one not able to beat to windward. It was essentially a fair-weather vessel, a fact pithily expressed in the Tongan proverb, "Takanga a tongiaki", literally, a "*tongiaki's* company", said of a fair-weather friend. Collocott and Havea (1922, p. 91) says: "A couple of these canoes might sail along in company in fair weather, but if a storm sprang up neither could rely much on the other for assistance".

The clumsiness and lack of weatherly qualities of the *tongiaki* contributed very largely, if indeed not mainly, to the involuntary colonization by Polynesians of several islands well within the Melanesian area. As Thomson (1908, p. 295) remarks, the rig of the vessel enabled it

> . . . to lie close to the wind on one tack, but on the other the sail was broken up into pockets by the mast, which held the wind and stopped all headway. Consequently it was the practice to wait for a fair wind, and set the sail on what would be the lee of the mast, and if the wind changed there was nothing for it but to change the course. It was, no doubt, this fact that led to so many Tongans' being cast away on remote islands, and to the mixing of Polynesian with Melanesian blood.

According to the Prince Consort William Tungi, the huge stones of the Haamonga trilithon were quarried at Uvea (Wallis Island) and transported to Tongatabu on an exceptionally large *tongiaki* built on Uvea for the purpose. Collocott and Havea (1922, p. 55) also mention what is probably a variant of the same tradition: a double canoe, the "Lomipeau" (erroneously termed a *kalia*), was used to convey from Uvea many of the stones required in the building of some of the royal supulchral langis on Tongatabu. Another version, recorded by Wilson (1799, p. 284), who was in Tongatabu in 1797, though averring that the langi stones came from Lifuka in the Haapai Islands, confirms the statement of their transport by means of double canoes, according to information which he received from the "Futtafaihe".

Kalia

Like the *'alia* of Samoa, the Tongan *kalia* is in no essential particular different from the Fijian *ndrua*. In Cook's time, 1773-74, the Tongans had begun to acquire some of these magnificent craft from the Fijians in substitution for their smaller and more primitive form of double canoe, the *tongiaki*. A few years later the process was accelerated and Thomson (1908, p. 295) states that "from 1790 to 1810 it had become the custom of Tongan chiefs to voyage to Fiji in their clumsy *tongiaki*, join in the native wars, and take as their portion of the loot Fijian *ndrua*, in which they beat back to Tonga; and in a very few years the *tongiaki* was extinct".

These *kalia* were also built in the Lau Archipelago of Fiji in later years by Tongan carpenters sent there for this purpose by their chiefs. Whether the design was modified in minor details is uncertain. Models of the Tongan *kalia* do not depart from the Fijian design in any respect, but in the figures given by Paris (1841, pls. 118, 121), the ends of both the hulls are shown pointed and similar,

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

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natives, who fleeing from the sound of death and suspecting no danger before them, fell at once in their flight into the hands of their enemies, who immediately slew them in silence, and waited in ambush till the arrival of more men.

By staying behind again, in the canoes, I was happily delivered from sharing the guilty execution and the danger of this horrible plan, through which, ere the sun rose to display the extent of mischief and devastation, hundreds were massacred. Thus suddenly surprised, the enemy could not give the alarm, and collect their forces together to resist us. Whilst the other districts beyond the appointed limit in Aheefo caught the alarm, and assembled to relieve their friends, we were rapidly pursuing them on the roads leading to our canoes, and before they could attack us, we were all safely on board.

175 502 [726]

In our return however to Arbai, we were in great danger of being cast away. Though the wind blew unfavourably, we were obliged to sail off to avoid being pursued by the enemy. There were in the canoe in which I sailed off two hundred and fifty souls. During the night the wind veered, and the sea became so very rough, that we were all apprehensive that the canoe could not weather it. But as the morning dawned we discovered land; and providence favouring our attempt, we soon reached it; it proved one of the Arbai islands.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

361 foot. During the dry season, they are quite adequate for
491 foot or horse traffic. Each householder in the village and
(653) each plantation-holder in the bush is responsible for keeping
that part of the road which runs past his house or plantation
487 free from high grass or obstructions. Numerous tracks
361 intersect the village winding from house to house, defined according to amount of use.

THE PEOPLE

565 The people of Pangai village, as will be stressed through-
621 out these notes, are commoners. Tongan society is today a stratified hierarchy with royalty and nobles at the top of the social scale, the common people at the bottom. In some villages, a high chief or noble* has his permanent residence. In Pangai this is not the case. Pangai island is a royal estate. The only resident in the village who claims some
(554) modicum of chiefly status is Koloamatangi, overseer of the estate. He is not a noble but stands with certain limited
(502) authority at the head of the village both because of his position as overseer and because his position as pilot for the port of Vava'u brings him sufficient pilot-fees each year to give him a more than average annual monetary income. For the rest, the villagers are just Tongans of the commoner class. Some may hint vaguely at distant relationships to some noble. In practice all disregard such hints. All think of themselves as commoners whose job in life is to work the land, to get what food and money is necessary, to obtain what pleasures life may have in store for them, to take what pains with as much fortitude as they can muster. The only significance of the following notes is that they attempt to explore some facets of this commoner life that are not yet adequately defined in published Tongan ethnologies.

CONTACT WITH WHITES

177 The attitude of the villager to non-Tongans is difficult
609 to characterize. Excluding a few half-castes and other Pacific islanders, the non-Tongans with whom the villager

565 * Within the chiefly class, the present-day Tongan social system
423 distinguishes between nobles and chiefs. Nobles are those chiefs
622 who retain by royal grant their hereditary lands *(tofia)*. Chiefs are those other members of this class who have not retained any hereditary lands or estates but yet are chiefs because of their hereditarily-established status.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

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by other villagers. A week of New Year festivity and celebration evidently performs the very useful function in village life of making plantation work appear highly desirable by contrast with the monotony of merry-making.

ORGANIZATION OF WORK

644 General supervision over the whole of the island of Pangai because of its nature as a Royal estate is exercised by an overseer resident in Pangai village. His supervision is limited to a general care of all the lands comprising the estate to ensure that there is an adequate food-supply available for all the households of the village. He may report to government officials in Neiafu the names of those heads of households who, he considers, have not planted sufficient land to care for the needs of the household. Pressure and the threat of a possible jail-sentence would then be brought upon such men. Should it become desirable or possible to export more bananas or pineapples from [623] Vava'u, then the overseer would hold a council of the men of the village and give a strong lead and direction to an increased planting programme. At all times the overseer seeks to prevent a wilful misuse of the land or a destruction of its values.

Beyond this land-control, the duties of the overseer seem vague and ill-defined. He functions in the village at times as a sort of government representative. Official announcements of policy or government enactments generally filter through to the villagers from conversations or councils with the overseer. He is also responsible in theory [744] for seeing that laws relating to public health (such a law for instance, as that which relates to the covering of cisterns from which drinking water is drawn) are observed, though in practice the Pangai overseer shows complete indifference to such responsibilities. He maintains a residence in Pangai and another in Neiafu. His duties as estate-overseer are somewhat complicated by the fact that he also functions [502] actively as government pilot for the port of Neiafu. On the balance however, the overseer does add materially at times to the more efficient production of economic goods by the leadership he gives to agricultural activities.

461 The work of production in the Tongan village may be
476 carried on either by one man working by himself or else
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464
571

21: Simkin U-5 (no date) 1945 OU9 Tonga OU9

from rich, but it is free from the hardships of real poverty, the poisons of economic inequality, and the degradations of a proletariat.

On the cultural side the void created by the collapse of the old religious beliefs has been more than filled by Christianity and the missions have been tender of other aspects of Tongan culture. The traditional music and handicrafts have all been encouraged along with a pride in the past. New interests have been provided by church choirs, stringed instruments and brass bands, and by the introduction of European sports like cricket. Education in English, history and geography has opened up new intellectual horizons, even if rather slowly and to too limited an extent.

Tonga's Future

If left alone to work out their future the Tongans can face it with hope and confidence. Much can be done to develop agriculture and to add new branches to it. Progress in this field holds out the hope, not only of better diet, larger real incomes, and a lessened dependence on foreign trade, but also the prospect of new vocational interests to enrich village and family life. Co-operative societies to spread agricultural knowledge, to market produce, and to operate equipment such as copra driers are already under way. New crops, animal husbandry and cotton weaving could all develop so as to give people more interesting lives as well as better standards of living. A new interest and activity is being shown in education, and real attempts are being made to develop it in the directions most needing reform. The new teachers' training college, in particular, should have valuable effects upon the quality of Tongan education, and should stimulate further educational reform.

These opportunities, however, will not be realised unless there is vigorous, imaginative and generous leadership. Tonga appears to be at a turning point—it can either move forward to a healthy nationhood or become a stagnant backwater of the Pacific. The dangers of such a decline cannot be ignored, even if they should not be exaggerated. The country's history reveals a great past, but the driving energy that made that past is not so very evident to-day. Boatbuilding and seamanship, which were once responsible for the subjection of central Polynesia, are now badly decayed. Other crafts still survive but can hardly be said to flourish. There are disturbing indications that the declining powers of the chiefs may lead to the passive acceptance of a

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

yards of its edge. When we again went on deck, the whole scene was changed as if by some mighty enchantment.

The sea was now smooth. The ship's course lay through deep channels formed by numerous ledges of coral reef, over which breakers dashed with the noise of thunder. In these narrow channels the brig had to be tacked several times. The operation was by no means unaccompanied with danger. A slight error in the steerage, a lull of the breeze, or missing stays, as was not improbable with such a dull craft under hand, and we should instantly have been swept upon the edge of the perpendicular reefs, between which the tidal current rolled along at the rate of four miles an hour, and in some places with even greater rapidity. All, however, went well, and just before reaching the most intricate part of the passage a canoe was seen coming from the shore. It lay so low upon the water as to be scarcely discernible. Conscious of this fact, the sole occupant of the tiny vehicle occasionally flourished his paddle in the air to attract attention. Believing him to be a native pilot, a short tack was made to give him time to overtake us; and a few minutes sufficed to bring the canoe alongside. We looked for the first time upon a Friendly Islander, and assuredly the impressions we received were by no means favourable. The man was almost naked. The only article of attire he wore was a thick covering of plaited leaves thrown round his loins; and dripping as he was with water, he really looked as if he had just been floated up from some ocean cavern. Although an old man, he was remarkably nimble in all his movements. A narrow band of native cloth was bound

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

round his neck, from which he proceeded very carefully to unfold a well-worn paper, purporting to be a certificate from a commander in the French imperial navy, declaring that Jekobi Moana was a fit and trustworthy pilot for any vessel requiring his services. A rosary and cross suspended on his breast showed him to be one of the few Romish converts residing on the eastern end of the island. Meanwhile, his tiny canoe being in imminent danger of swamping in the surge of the vessel's wake, it was hoisted up alongside, and friend Jacob, having been duly attired, much to his gratification, in a pair of sailors' trousers, mounted aloft to the fore-top-sail yard, to assume the duties of pilot. These were performed to the utmost satisfaction of all on board, considering both the real difficulties of the navigation, and the fact that Jacob knew not a word of English, and the chief mate, who was with him aloft, knew about as little of Tonguese. The whole affair was managed by telegraphic signs between the two; and it happened, more than once, that we were running full speed toward danger, and close upon it, before the result of the dumb show aloft could be shouted in nautical phrase to those on deck.

Approaching nearer to the main land, we gazed upon groves of innumerable cocoa nut palm trees, whose long and ponderous leaves glanced brightly in the sunlight, and waved gracefully to and fro with every undulation of the breeze. The land was clad in all directions with the richest vegetation, from the highest eminences down to within a few feet of the sea; while in some spots even the sea itself was encroached upon by clusters of mangrove bushes. Here and there native villages, among the

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

to these islands being extremely difficult, owing to the precipitous nature of the coast, and lying also, as they do, very much to leeward, they are uninhabited, and are but seldom visited by the people.

In 1851 the following incident occurred in connexion with this locality. Vakajuiola, a brother of the late King Josiah, of Tonga, with a number of his people, was on a voyage from Haabai to the former island, when a severe storm overtook them. It was late in the day, when they bore away before the gale, expecting, if the wind continued, and the canoe held together, to be driven to the Fijis. The storm, however, rapidly increased. The large sail was torn into shreds; and, owing to the heavy sea, it was momentarily expected that the kalia would part in sunder, and consign the sixty persons on board to a watery grave. Providentially, the vessel was driven straight between the two Hugas, and there it did indeed part in sunder, and become a total wreck. Not a single life, however, was lost. Some gained the shore of the one island, and some that of the other; but all, with great difficulty, effected a landing, and scrambled somehow to the summit of the cliffs. Here they remained for several weeks, subsisting upon cocoa-nuts, birds' eggs, and any edible roots they could find. Starvation at length stared them in the face. Meanwhile it was resolved, by some means or other, to construct a small canoe, or *bobao*, in which one of the party should attempt to paddle his way to Tongatabu, a distance of about forty miles, for assistance. By the aid of one plane-iron, mounted as an adze, a small *bobao* was made, in which a native Teacher embarked on his perilous undertaking. He reached our Mission

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

station at Hihifo, in Tongatabu, in safety, but greatly exhausted; and from thence canoes were immediately dispatched for the rescue of the sufferers, all of whom were safely brought away. The first escape, and subsequent endurance of suffering, on the part of the castaways, was all the more remarkable, because a goodly number of them were women. But it may be here remarked, in passing, that Tonguese women are quite as clever and expert in swimming as are the men; although, of course, their physical powers would not enable them to hold out so long as those of the sterner sex.

Leaving the Haabai group, and proceeding still to the northward, another volcanic island is met with, called Late. This island lies in the same parallel of distance as the two Hugas, from the main chain of islands, and is therefore considerably to the westward. It occupies a position about midway between Haabai and the Haafuluhao, or Vavau group. It also is uninhabited, but it is an island of considerable resources, and it is frequently visited by voyagers proceeding between Tonga and Fiji. In making a final start for the latter islands, Late affords a good point of departure for the native navigators from Vavau. The nearest of the Fijis lie almost due west from thence, and Late, being a lofty conical island, is visible from a great distance.

The Haafuluhao group is the most variegated and beautiful of the Friendly archipelago. Of the islands which compose it, Vavau is the largest and most important. Then come Bagaimotu, Falevai, Niuababu, Huga, Oloua, Koulo, Ofu, Ovaka, and a number of islets, chiefly lying to the eastward, in close proximity to each other.

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

797 548 539 [643]

come to reside there, shall be protected in an effectual manner by Tubou, in their persons and property.

V.

"This protection shall be extended to French ships and their crews; the assistance of pilots shall never be refused; and, in case of wreck, the chiefs and inhabitants of the districts shall take them succour, and protect them from pillage. The salvage indemnity shall be regulated amicably; and, in disputed cases, by arbitrators chosen by the two parties.

[502]

VI.

"French ships shall not in any case be liable to higher anchorage, and pilot dues, or other charges, than other nations.

VII.

"The subjects of Tubou shall have a right in all French possessions to the advantages accorded to the French in the Tonga Islands.

VIII.

"The present convention shall be communicated to the chiefs and people of the Tonga Islands, and published in all the islands.

"Drawn up and signed in four despatches at Tongatabu, in the two languages, by the contractants, January 9th, 1855." *

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* "CONVENTION entre le Tubou, Roi des Iles Tonga; d'une part, et au nom de sa Majesté Napoléon III., Empereur des Français, M. Du Bouzet, Chef de division, Gouverneur des Etablissements Français de l'Océanie, d'autre part.

"I. Il y aura paix et amitié perpetuelles entre le Tubou, Roi des Iles Tonga, et sa Majesté Napoléon III., Empereur des Français.

"II. La religion Catholique est déclarée libre dans toutes les îles soumises au Roi des Iles Tonga. Les membres de cette communion auront tous les priviléges accordés aux Protestants.

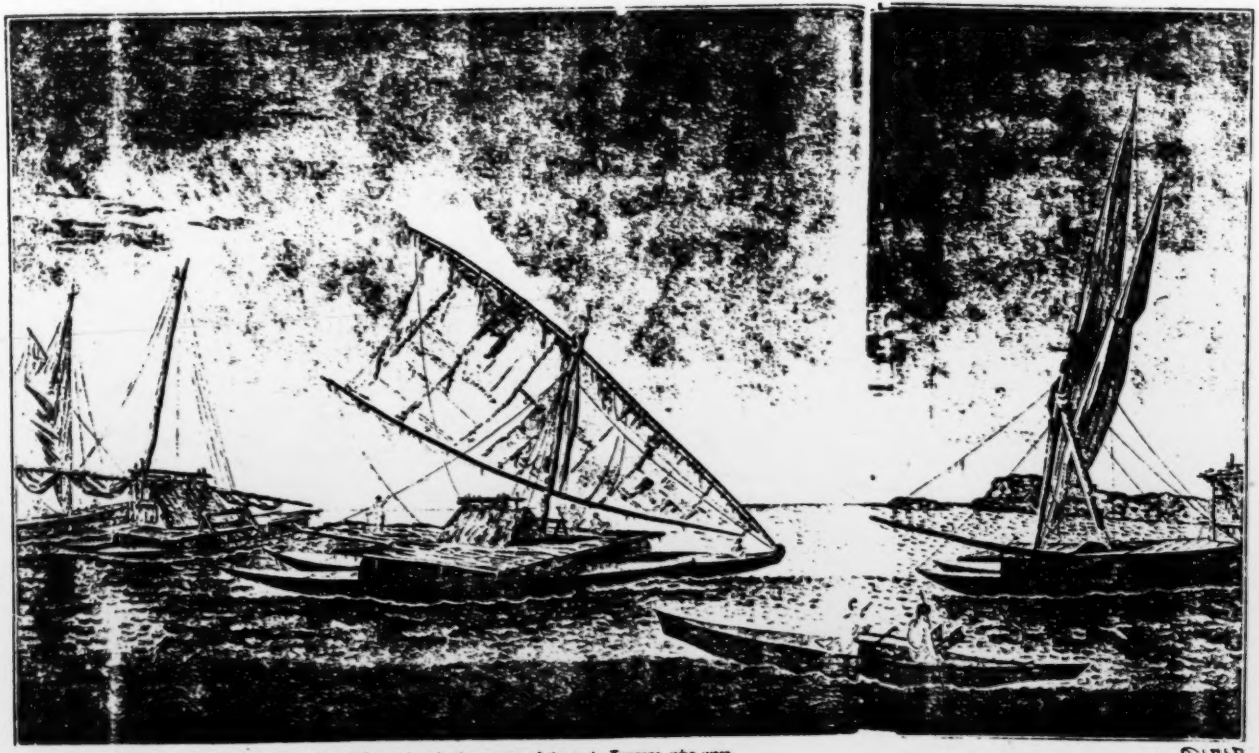
30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

on the progress of the contest with the promptness and certainty of a wireless installation and had the melancholy duty of informing them of the defeat of their own champion. His best remembered exploit was that of telling a chief the time at which a pet bird, which had flown away and was many days overdue, would return. Not content with the bald statement as to the day and time at which the chief would again see his bird he gave a detailed itinerary of the homeward flight.

A rather peculiar idea belonging to the same range of conceptions is seen in the power asserted to have been possessed by the chief Loau of Haamea in Tongatabu of knowing everything that was going on everywhere. Loau occupies a unique place in Tongan history, for though he is undoubtedly a historical personage and is asserted to have left a deep and enduring mark on Tongan polity, no place is assigned him in any of the known chiefly families. He came none knows whence and departed none knows whither. His name is connected with the small district called Haamea near Nukualofa, but the spot within Haamea on which he lived is named Maananga, and it is said that quietly at home at Maananga he knew all that was going on elsewhere, whence the word *toka-i-maananga* (known in Maananga) is used of omniscience, and is so used today in Christian worship.

In passing it may be noted that the Tongans assert that there have been navigators so skilful that they could tell their whereabouts when out of sight of land by dipping their hands into the sea and scooping up a little of the water. Looking at the sample of ocean the gifted mariner would say "This is the sea of Vavau," "of Tongatabu," and so forth, and thus get his bearings. The last man who possessed this power has not been dead many years.

The old story of Muni of the Torn Eye relates that Bunga (Coral), a chief in the east of Tongatabu, had a white flying-fox which he used for divination. When Muni, whose legendary exploits are strongly reminiscent of those of the god Maui, visited with hostile intent the home of Bunga the latter was out at sea fishing. His flying-fox at once flew out to him, and Bunga, suspecting that matters of grave import were afoot, set himself a sign whereby he should know by the part of the boat on which the creature settled whether



Artistic skill and **astronomical expertise** went into building and navigating canoes of the early Tongans, who were among the greatest Polynesian seafarers. Depicted here are some of the vessels used around 1773. Larger war canoes, capable of carrying up to 200 men, had previously allowed Tonga to extend her domain to Samoa, the Wallis and Tokelau Islands, Fiji, and elsewhere.

Ko ha ni'ihi eni 'o e **ngaahi kalia** na'e fefolau'aki ai e kau **kaivai** 'i he taimi 'o Kapiteni Kuki. Ko e ngaue kafakafa mo masani foki na'e fai 'i hono **longa** e ngaahi fu'u kalia taumu'a ua ni, pea na'e tu'ukimu'a taha foki 'i Polinisia kotoa e **folautahi** 'a e kau kaivai Tonga. Ne a'u ki he toko 200 e uta 'a e ngaahi fu'u vaka tau 'e ni'ihi, pea lava ai ke a'u lelei e kau tau 'a Tonga 'o ikuna 'a Ha'amoa, 'Uvea, 'Otu Tokelau, Fisi, mo e feitu'u kehekehe.

501
502
646

39 Gerstle & Raitt C.O.-4.5 (1952-1971) 1974 pg9 Tonga 009

128 Then came the happy surprise. After a long silence from Auckland, she began sending us parts of *Po Fananga* – and we were delighted.

"You are to please yourself," she wrote, "how you place these stories and edit them . . . The translation, as I have said, is rough, but it was intentionally meant to be so. A literal translation would be a bit dry for the appetites of the English-speaking reader."

Back in Tonga later, Tupou sent us this note: "Just a few lines to let you know that the rest of *Po Fananga* will be coming in a few days. I am also enclosing a creation of mine which is called,"Rainbow and her Daughter." And so we have eleven traditional Tongan folk tales, plus one of Tupou's own.

128 Thus, Tofua Press received *Po Fananga.* We were lucky
114 enough to have Nick Rott, who has his Master's Degree in Fine Arts, to do the illustrations for this book. Having lived and taught in Tonga, Nick and his wife, Gerry, had been special fans at Tupou's fascinating story-telling
114 sessions. And Tupou is a born story-teller. She knows a
538 tale behind any person or place that comes into the conversation, and her eyes twinkle with merriment as she tells it.

114 In one of her tales, you will read about a handsome youth who knew the location of his island in the dark by
[502] the mere feel of the ocean from the boat. Tupou has, in her family line a number of generations removed, the

famous blind navigator, Kahomovailahi (whose nickname Fāfākongatahi means to touch the water), who could, it was said, determine the location of his boat by simply putting his hand into the water. Tupou's father, Sione Fa'iloakitau Kaho was one of the great researchers of his time and was in touch with much lore, as he was the direct descendant of 'Ana, the daughter of a famous Tu'ivakanō, noble of Nukunuku.

In the Ha'apai group, the island of 'Uiha where dwelt the woman from Felemea who loved the sun in one of the folk tales, is the island which Tupou claims for her family. Her mother, Salote Katokakala, was the cousin of Malupō, the chief of 'Uiha, and her family came from the line of Niukapu, one of the thirty-three nobles of Tonga.

Tupou is married to Dr. Posesi Fanua, who has retired from the Medical Department of Tonga. They have seven daughters and one son. "All the girls are working for the government," she writes," two in the Medical Department, one in the Lands Department, one as Secretary at the University Centre, one is married in Australia, one is a commercial teacher besides running the well-known Beach House at Nuku'alofa, and one works at the Education Department; our only son is a farmer."

At present," she adds, "I've got sixteen grandchildren." Not long ago, we each had thirteen. But I do not have the stories which she has to tell to her grandchildren. Mine are the losers; they have television.

[p.8-B]

Helen Raitt

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

On the 10th Feenough dined on
262 board as indeed he did every day, after we had dined some of his
412 servants brought on board a mess for him, it consisted of fish soup and
634 yams; the fish and soup was brought off in a Plantain leafe. Instead of
648 common water to make the soup they had made use of Cocoanut
water in which the fish had been boiled or stewed; this was probably
252 done in a wooden vessel with hot stones. I tasted of it and found it so
good that I had afterwards fish dress'd the same way and found it
very good though my Cook did not come up to theres.

122 SUNDAY 11*th*. Finding that we had quite exhausted the island of all
most every thing it produced I this day got every thing off from the
[634] shore, intending as soon as the Discovery had recovered her best
[648] bower anchor, to proceed to an island called Happi,[1] laying to the NE
where Feenough told me I should meet with every thing I wanted
and strongly importuned me to go thither before I visited Tongatabu.

Mon. 12 The 12th and 13th was spent in recovering the Discoveries Anchor
Tues. 13 Wed. 14 which was at last accomplished[2] and on the 14th in the Morning we
weighed anchor and steered for Aghao,[3] with a view of passing to the
NW of the small islands that lay to the North and NE of Anamocka,[4]
[634] as I could not be assured of a passage amongst them. Feenough and
[648] some others remained on board till near noon when they embarked
in a Canoe and stood in amongst [the] islands.[5] At 4 PM being the
length of Ogodoo[6] we steered to the north, leaving Omattafoa[7] and
Aghao on our larboard, keeping along the West side of a reef of rocks
which lay to the westward of Ogodoo, till we came to their no[r]thern
extremity round which we hauled in for the island with a design to
anchor for the night, but it came upon us before we could find a place
in less than 55 fathom water, and rather than come to in this depth I
choose to spend the night under sail.

[1] Ha'apai is the penultimate northerly group of Tonga, not a single island. Clerke got it as 'henua Arpi': 'henua' = conventional Tongan *fonua*, *cf.* Tahitian *fenua*, Maori *whenua*. He adds, '. . . the word Arpi I find in their Language bespeaks a cluster or Group of any thing wherever it is applied'.—17 May. Here he has, quite intelligibly, been confused by another word, *'api* '*opi*, which means crowded or full (as of a road or a basket).

[2] 'On Tuesday Afternoon chiefly by means of some Oyl thrown on the Water which renderd the Surface so smooth that the Anchor was seen at the bottom altho' in 17 fathoms, and the position in which it lay discoverd.'—Edgar, 8 May.—'This Anchor may in the course of the Voyage be of such Consequence that I am determin'd nothing but a conviction of an impossibility of getting it, shall send me away without it.'—Clerke, 10 May.

[131] [3] Kao, the beautiful cone-peaked island, 3,380 feet high and thus a prominent mark, two miles NNE of Tofua. It lies due west of Ha'ano, the most northerly of the bigger islands of the Ha'apai group.

[4] The low islands of the Kotu or Ha'apai Lulunga group, small, scattered, but linked up with dangerous reefs, shoals, rocks and breaking seas, and without good anchorage. For Cook's complicated track about this group and Ha'apai see Fig. 5.

[502] [5] '. . . thier rate of sailing was about 3 feet to our 2, and in turning to windward they sailed above a point nearer to the wind than our Ships when sharp trimmed.'—Burney.

[103] [6] Kotu, the westernmost island of its group. [7] Tofua.

A [See category 102 , p. 104--Analyst]

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

that it almost reach[ed] his shoulder. The red feathers so often mentioned in this Narrative all come from Fidgee, as also some of their finest Striped and chequered Cloth and a few other articls. The demand for feathers is so great that it frequently occasions quarrels for if the people of Fidgee refuse to Trade, the others rather than go without will fight for them, so at least I have been told. Now I am again with Canibals, let me ask those men who Mentain that the want of food first brings men to this Custom, what it is that induceth them to keep it up in the midst of plenty? As these people have no method of Measuring the distance from island to island but by the time required to sail it in one of their canoes it was necessary to know or at least to form some judgement how far they can sail in a moderate gale in any given time. With this View I went on board one of them when under sail, and by several tryals with the log found she went Seven knots or mile in an hour, close hauled in a gentle gale. From this I judge they will sail on a medium with such breezes as generally blow in their sea about seven or eight miles in an hour; but the length of each day is not to be reckoned at twenty four hours, for when they speak of one days sail, they mean no more than from the evening to the Morning of the same day,[1] that is ten or twelve hours at most. And two days sail signifies, from the Morning of the first day to the evening of the second and so for any other number of days. In these Navigations the Sun is their guide by day and the Stars by night, when these are obscured they have recourse to the points from whence the Wind and waves of the Sea come upon the Vessel. If during the obscuration both the wind and the waves shift (which seldom happens at any other time within the limets of the trade wind) they are then bewildered, frequently miss their intended port and are never heard of more.

Of all the harbours and Anchoring places I have met with about these islands that of Tongatabu is by far the best, not only from its great security but for capacity and the goodness of its bottom. The risk we ran in entering it from the North ought to be a sufficient caution never to attempt that passage again with a Ship of burden, sence the other is so much more easy and safe. To sail into it by this eastern Channel, steer in for the NE point of the island and keep a long the North Shore with the sm[l] isles on your Starb[d] till you are the length of the east point of the entrance into the Lagoon, then edge over for the reef of the isles and follow its direction and it will Con-

[1] Cook has evidently slipped here, and intended 'from the morning to the evening': the correction was thus made in *Voyage*, I, p. 376. The Log, Adm 55/111, has a marginal pencil note in an eighteenth-century hand, 'should be vice versa'.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

sufferd to shoot into a trunk, and the coarser sort which they sleep upon from a plant call'd E'varra.[1] There are many other articles of less note that employ their spare time, as combs of which they make vast numbers, little baskets made of the same substance as the matts and others of the fibrous Cocoa nut husk, either plain or interwoven with small beads, but all made with such neatness and taste in the disposition of the different varietys, which are very numerous, that a stranger cannot help looking with pleasure at their assiduity and dexterity. Every person knows the beautifull character that Solomon has drawn of an industrious women and the happy consequences that attend it, and we may almost venture to say that Solomon in that character has included a true picture of all the women of Tonga. The province alloted to the men is as might be expected far more laborious and extensive than that of the women. Agriculture, Architecture, Boat building, Fishing and other things that relate to Navigation are the objects of their care. I would not wish to refer to any thing prior to the date of this voyage to illustrate any circumstance by, when I can avoid it, as it would be interweaving subjects that ought to be seperate unless every person knew them as well as myself, but I cannot help relating here an observation which may have been made before, though not to my knowledge, which is that in all the places I have visited in these seas the degree of civilization that has taken place amongst them may be known by the attention they pay to the fair sex. Those in a very barbarous state treat their women with such a degree of rudeness or rather brutality and at the same time indifference that they seem to think them not so much intended as a companion, or to be upon the same scale with themselves, as a set of beings every way inferior to them and only fit for such mean offices as they would not stoop to. On the contrary as civilization has advanc'd we find them not only eas'd of those laborious employments which their natural delicacy of frame requires, but treated with that respect to which they are often more justly entitled than their lordly masters, and have even a great sway in the management of affairs. Cultivated roots and fruits being their principal support requires their constant attention to Agriculture, which they pursue very diligently and seem to have brought to as much perfection almost as circumstances will admitt of. The land about Mooa though so well planted is scarcely equal to that part of the island where Cap[t] Cook anchor'd in 1773, and from Mooa to the NE point which is all the places we have seen it is tolerable, from whence one might suppose, if the unseen parts are in the same proportion, that two thirds

[1] *fala* was the word for sleeping-mat, not for a plant. The pandanus was called *fa*.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

by small sticks reaching from one to the other plac'd across or obliquely for the greater security, and of such a length that the parallel spar (which is about two thirds of the Boats length) lyes on the surface of the water as she goes along. It is nevertheless, notwithstanding this precaution, a very common accident for their Canoes to turn quite over barely from changing the posture a few inches when sitting in them, and that always to the side where the outrigger is not fix'd. The same happens if the small sticks fastening the parallel to the cross spars are broke, but these accidents are of little consequence, as all ages & sexes are such expert swimmers that they easily repair the injury in the water by turning up the Canoe and baling her out or fastening the sticks when displac'd. In these small embarkations they will venture several miles from the shore in a considerable sea and wind and manage them very dexterously; but notwithstanding the nicety with which they are joind and though the seams are pitch'd with a jetty substance smelling like amber that is said to be the juice of a tree harden'd,[1] they are oblig'd to keep constantly baling out the water, for which they use a scoop made exactly like those of our small fishing boats.

The large or sailing Canoes[2] are shap'd not much unlike the others; but both ends, which are drawn out to a point instead of a wedge, resemble each other. They are all double (i.e. two joind together) with the heighth of a pretty broad plank raisd upon the rounded part, from which rafters are laid across to lash the two together by, that are about four or five feet asunder. Over these is built a large platform or stage reaching from one deck to the other lengthways and projecting considerably beyond the outside of each. These are made of strong planks and are either flat or rise with a bending abaft like the deck of some ships. On this is plac'd a hut like half a cylinder resting on its inside, or of the figure of one of their common huts divided longitudinally, in which they keep their matts, cloth or other necessary things and where the principal people sleep in their Voyages. The mast is plac'd always in one of the Canoes before its middle and inclines to the opposite side and forwards, sometimes fix'd sometimes made to take out. It is well stay'd with strong ropes & has notches by which they go up occasionally, though it is but short in proportion to the vessel. The sail is of a triangular figure with the

[1] A number of trees produced a gum used in caulking: I have not succeeded in finding out which particular one Anderson refers to here.

[2] Anderson here goes on to describe the *tongiaki*, double canoe, which just about this time was giving place to an improved version, the *kalia*, based on the design of the Fijian *ndrua*. We know from Webber's drawings that Cook saw both types. Hornell's discussion of these double canoes (op. cit., pp. 265–73) is both learned and interesting.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

upper side, which is a little curv'd, fix'd to a yard near three times as long as the mast. This hoists up to the top of the mast, making the sail incline obliquely upwards & backwards, with the lower point in an opposite direction projecting considerably before the mast. The base is the upper part of the sail, & the long side of the triangle the after & lower part: it is made of mat, sometimes a kind of streamer flying from the after angle. In working to windward they shift the sail to the opposite side in tacking, which is done very quickly from the great command two very large paddles which they steer with have over them. In these cases the little time they lose and the fast rate of the Boats sailing makes them gain very quickly, for in a gentle breeze which would set our ship about three knots it has been found they went seven, and before the wind with smooth water & a fresh breeze it may easily be conceivd they must go more than double that. They carry from forty to fifty people, and some sixty or seventy. The size of one of the largest as measurd was twenty five paces, the extreme breadth (of one boat) about three feet, and the depth including the rais'd plank five and a half: the length of the stage was eleven paces and the breadth near six. The sail of a smaller one measur'd seventeen paces on the longest side, the upper or base of the triangle twelve, and the yard to which the other side is fix'd nineteen. They are built of much larger planks than the small ones and seemingly with as few as they can, but notwithstanding their care in joining them they are so liable to leak that they are oblig'd to be frequently bal'd out. There are a few of the single kind that have such a sail as this, with a large heavy outrigger which supplys the place of another boat to ballance it,[1] but their distant Navigations are performd in the others. How far that extends is not very certain, but it is probable they have some knowledge of Cocos and Traitors island[2] which is five degrees to the Northward, or at least have communication with others who frequent that place, from a circumstance they say happen'd not many years ago of a ship larger than ours visiting these places, from whence they had their knowledge of iron renew'd (as they must have had some from Tasman) and was probably the Dolphin, who in her second voyage fell in with them, and were call'd Keppel and Boscawens Islands by Capt[n] Wallace. However that may be it is certain there are islands within their own knowledge which take them three, four or five days sail to which they are directed by the fix'd stars, many of which they have names for and some bear the names of the islands they direct to, but when it is dark in the night or

[1] This type of canoe was called the *kamatafua*.
[2] Niuatoputapu and Tafahi.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

rains hard in the day they are guided by the swell of the sea & wind. As another proof of the distance or at least of the stay they make at some places, they always carry a considerable quantity of Cloath, matts &c and provisions, the last of which they dress on a sort of hearth made of sand & stones plac'd near the fore part of the stage. The number of people, amongst which are always several women, being at least four times more than is sufficient to Navigate the Boat implys some other business, though perhaps it may be for the relief of each other: for here as in all other cases there seems to be such a perfect unity amongst them that when they are oblig'd to paddle from a calm or any other accident, the whole crew and rowers themselves join in songs and a musical recitative to give an agreement to their strokes and ease the irksomness of that unvaried labour.

The only tools they have to make these boats are Hatchets, or rather thick Adzes, of the smooth black stone mentioned before (but some want the projecting part behind), an augur made of a sharks tooth fix'd on a small handle, and a rasp of a rough fishes skin laid over & fastend on a flat piece of wood thinner on one side with a handle. The vast labour they must be at and the time that is spent with their [boats], being perhaps their most perfect mechanical production, are probably the reasons for being so carefull of them, for they are built and preserv'd under long shades of two sides which reach to the ground & incline towards the top, so that the ends which are both open represent a half ellipsis on its base; but when that cannot be done they always cover the deck'd part with Cocoa leaves after they are haul'd on shore to prevent the sun hurting them.

The same tools are all they have for other works, if we except different shells which they use as knives, but there are few that require these unless it is some of their weapons, the other articles being chiefly their fishing materials, cordage and a few others. The Cordage is made from the fibres of the Cocoa nut husk, which though not more than nine or ten inches long they plait about the size of a quill or less to any length they please, & roll it up in balls from which the larger rop[e]s are made by many of these being tied together and twisted. The lines they fish with are made from the [1] and are as strong and even as the best cord we make, resembling it almost in every respect. Their other things for that purpose are large and small hooks, made with a pretty straight back and a point fix'd on the inside near the end. The last are made entirely of pearl shell, but the first only coverd on the back with it, & the points of both commonly of tortoise shell, those of the small being plain the others

[1] Tou, not the *Malachia* but *Pipturus argenteus*, widely used for this purpose in the Pacific.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

226 barb'd. With the large ones they catch Bonneto & Albicore by put-
[321] ting them to a large Bamboo rod twelve or fourteen feet long, with a
391 line as long, which rests in a notch of a piece of wood fix'd in the stern
[227] of the Canoe for that purpose, and is dragg'd on the surface as she
824 rows along without any other bait than a tuft of flaxy stuff[1] near the
point. They have also great numbers of pretty small seines, some of
[462] which are of a very delicate texture, that they use to catch fish with
[502] in the holes on the reefs when the tide ebbs, besides barb'd gigs which
they strike some with, each of which are so numerous that shows
much of their time is employ'd in that business; & it is the only thing
that can be reckon'd laborius where we find the women are sometimes
engag'd, and where they handle the paddle as dexterously as the
men.

The other manual employments consist chiefly in making musical
534 reeds, flutes, warlike weapons and stools or rather pillows[2] to sleep on.
[463] The reeds have eight, nine or ten pieces plac'd parallel to each other
but do not observe that simple progression in length as the ancient
,[3] having the longest sometimes in the middle &c and
several of the same length, so that I have seen none with more than
[533] six notes. They seem incapable of playing any regular music on these,
at least not distinguishable by our ears, though it seems very strange
they should invent an instrument whose powers they must certainly
be acquainted with and not be able to apply it to use, at least not
generally. The flutes are a joint of Bamboo close at both ends, with a
hole near each and four others, two of which & one of the first only
are us'd in playing.[4] They apply the Thumb of the left hand to close
the nostril of that side and blow into the hole at one end with the
other. The middle finger of the left hand is applied to the first hole
on that side and the fore finger of the right to the lowest of the same
side. In this manner though the notes are only three, they produce a
pleasing yet simple music which they vary much more than the notes
would seem to admit of. Whether the other holes have any use in this
case I am not certain, but one of their very evident intentions is to
serve as a double flute, for the other two holes & that at the end are
placd exactly in the same order as the others so that they play in-
533 differently with either end. Their being accustom'd to a music which
177 consists of such few notes is perhaps the reason why they do not seem
to relish any of ours, which is so complex, but they seem very sensible
of any that is more deficient than their own, as they us'd to be well

[1] Teased out hibiscus bark would be so used.
[2] *kali*, pillows.
[3] Probably 'syrinx' was the word he was in search of. The Tongan name was *mimiha*.
[4] The *fangufangu*.

[183 cont.]

142 had ever seen in these isles, full of sweetness and the charms of youth.
175 Her large dark eyes sparkled with fire, and her ebon curls floated
[291] on her neck. She was of a lighter colour than the common people and wore a brown cloth which closely embracing the body immediately under the breast, but being somewhat wider [184] towards the feet, perhaps suited her better than the most elegant European dress.

648 Mr. Patton having been sent for, arrived with proper instruments,
175 and dressed the wounds of the poor native, whose countrymen brought
[752] many banana leaves, which were laid on over the dressing. A bottle of brandy was given them, with directions to wash the wounds with the liquor from time to time. The wound was not dangerous, as it happened in a fleshy part; but as the distance was so short, the shot had torn the flesh very much, and made the wound very painful to the poor man. After this we distributed some beads, and departed making various signs
499 of friendship. The natives like those of Tonga-Tabboo, were strangers
175 to resentment, and continued to trade with our ship as before. They seemed to possess a truly mercantile spirit, and spared no trouble
[184] to obtain some of our goods or curiosities. Among the rest, they were much delighted with a great number of young puppies which we had taken on board at the Society Islands, on purpose to stock such islands as were not provided with them. We left two couple on Namoka, of which
502 the natives promised to take particular care. These people managed
481 their canoes with surprising agility, and swam with the greatest ease.
175 Their common trading canoes were neatly made, and polished like those
501 which I have already described. But those of the neighbouring islands
175 were of a great size, and some [185] of them contained upwards of fifty people. They always consisted of two large canoes, fastened by a

[191 cont.]

122 to several low islands, all which seemed to be well inhabited and fertile, like so many beautiful gardens. After dinner the wind became contrary, and abated, so that we rather lost than gained ground.

439 175 A few canoes came up with us again, for the natives spared no labour to obtain our nails and rags of cloth. Towards evening we were surrounded by a little fleet, and the trade was very brisk, chiefly for the utensils and arms of the islanders, which are made with remarkable neatness.

648 175 The canoes returned once more to us the next morning [June 30] putting off at day-break from all the little islands in sight. Their

502 175 appearance and their sailing afforded us much entertainment. Before the wind they go extremely swift, being well contrived for that purpose, and their broad triangular sail gives them a very picturesque form

122 at a distance. We left them in a short time, when the breeze freshened, and [192] sailed towards the two high islands, which we had discovered

439 175 whilst we lay at anchor. In the afternoon three canoes came up with us again; and one of them, with 50 men on board, traded with us

101 175 just as we were in the narrow passage between both islands. The larger, to the southward, which is called Tofooa, appeared to be inhabited.

197 175 [312] Some of the natives on board our ship told us it had fresh water, together with coco-nut, banana, and bread-fruit trees. We saw indeed a number of palms, and a great quantity of the club-wood. The whole island, though steep, was in some places covered with verdure or shrubbery.

193 175 Towards the sea, and especially towards the other island, the rocks seemed burnt, and black sand covered the shore. We approached within a cable's length of it, but found a depth of eighty fathom, which prevented our coming to an anchor. The rocks towards the passage,

87: Wood M,Y-4,5 (no date) 1932 OU9 Tonga OU9

Ha'ateiho is the place where three London Missionary Society missionaries were killed in 1799. At Bea may be seen the spot where Captain Croker was killed and three naval guns were captured in 1840.

There is a good example of an old fort in fair preservation at Hule, near Nukunuku. The most remarkable of the numerous trenches of the island is known as the Keli-'a-Belehake, which extends from Vaotu'u to Nukunuku, Te'ekiu, Masilamea, and back to the southern coast at Fahefa; tradition states that this was actually dug in a single night during a war between the men of Hahake and those of Hihifo led by Vaha'i, at some undetermined time probably in the early 19th century. The name of a hamlet, 'Umutagata, also in the western district, recalls a rare instance of human cremation and cannibalism.

At Kolovai there is the enclosure where the former Tu'i Kanokubolu were invested with office; a piece of the koka tree under which these kings sat has been placed in the modern coronation chair at Nuku'alofa. The tombs of these kings are also at Kolovai. This village is well-known to tourists as a sanctuary for great numbers of flying-foxes.

Houma, on the south-west coast, is noted for the blow-holes which extend along the cliffs for a considerable distance.

In the extreme north-west of the island, at Ha'atafu, a monument stands to mark the landing-place of the first Wesleyan missionaries (1826). Tasman in 1643 and Cook in 1773 also landed nearby.

Navigation lights now stand at Ha'atafu, Nuku'alofa and Malinoa, an island north of Nuku alofa. The quarantine station is situated at Makaha'a, another island off Nuku'alofa.

Ancient stone-quarries are to be seen at Motutabu and Bagaimotu, small islands not far from Nuku'alofa. It seems more than probable that the stones used in the great tombs (lagi) at Mu'a and elsewhere were cut at these places, and certainly not at Uvea and other distant islands to which old native traditions refer.

HA'ABAI. It is considered that this name is derived from Savai'i, the island in Samoa from which the ancient Tongans probably came. Ha'abai is a scattered archipelago of small islands, the total area of which is less than that of 'Eua, if the uninhabited volcanic islands of Tofua and Kao are excluded. Yet these islets support a population of 6,410, most of whom have small tax-allotments or none at all, and despite the difficulties of getting a livelihood—difficulties which hurricanes and droughts have increased in recent years—the number of people who have gone to take up land in Togatabu and Vava'u is not considerable. The people of Ha'abai have always been renowned as skilful navigators and fishermen.

The Governor of Ha'abai resides at Bagai, Lifuka, which was also the boyhood home and always the favourite residence of Tubou I. Cook was entertained at a great festival and a plot was made against his life on this island in 1777. Mariner's vessel, the "Port-au-Prince," was also attacked here, and the cemetery of the murdered sailors is at Koulo, Lifuka.

Uoleva, now uninhabited, has a remarkable number of pigeon-mounds used by chiefs in ancient times, also an old sunken road of unknown use extending through the island.

87: Wood M,Y-4,5 (no date) 1932 OU9 Tonga OU9

'Uiha is the burial-place of great chiefs, including Tubouniua, Tubouto'a, Tevita 'Uga and Vuna. The finest mound ('eji) in Tonga, named Maka Hokovalu, is situated on the north-west of this island. The village of 'Uiha also boasts six cannon taken from a kidnapping ship which met its merited doom while making a raid on the island about the middle of the 19th century.

Tugua was the residence of the highest personage in ancient Tongan society, the Tamaha.

Nomuka, in the south of the group, was visited by more voyagers than any other island in Tonga. The pond of fresh water from which Tasman, Cook, Bligh and others took supplies is readily pointed out.

Navigation lights have been placed at Mujfuiva, in the south, and at Muitoa, Ha'ano, in the north of Ha'abai. Some islands cannot be approached in bad weather. Many of the smallest ones are uninhabited, though there are various traces of former habitation or of use for plantations or burial-places at Ofolaga, Kelefesia and the 'Otu Tolu.

VAVA'U OR HA'AFULUHAO. Three-fifths of this beautiful northern group is in one island, 'Uta Vava'u, but the remaining islands are only separated from the mainland by narrow channels. All these islands are comparatively high and undulating, thickly-wooded and very fertile. The highest point is 670 feet. From the hill called Talau, behind the chief town, Neiafu, a magnificent panorama can be obtained, embracing all the islands in the group. Along the northern coast of the main island there are very fine views from the high cliffs at the seat ('eji) of Salote near Hologa and at Ha'alaufuli.

The harbour of the main island is one of the most picturesque in the Pacific, though shallows and sandbanks make navigation difficult in some places. The Swallows' Cave, often visited by tourists, is on the north of Kaba. The secret cave, entered only by diving, which Mariner's story and Byron's poem have made famous, is situated on the north of the island of Nuababu ; here the young chief left his bride until they could embark for Fiji and be safe from the wrath of their relatives.

Neiafu, the port and residence of the governor, is beautifully situated, and good roads radiate from this centre. Until recently at least the average prosperity of the natives in Vava'u was rather higher than in other parts of the group, and they have expended their resources on European houses and European food to a greater extent than elsewhere. Vava'u is not as subject to hurricanes as the more northerly islands of Niua Fo'ou and Niua Tobutabu, but nevertheless it has suffered rather frequently, the last occasion being 13th March, 1932.

It is remarkable that Vava'u was the last part of Tonga to be discovered, the honour falling to the Spaniard, Maurelle, in 1781.

Various places recall the incidents mentioned in Mariner's history, and especially Feletoa, where the great fight of Finau Ulukalala II took place and where Finau himself was buried in 1809. Parts of the great trench, and also a cave and underground river, may be seen at Feletoa.

An ancient but incredible tradition states that a long wall of coral stones at Makave, known as the Kilikilitefua, was made by casting a stone for every first-born son in the district.

/23 cont./

181 near a group eating together. Children play catch with captured
[825] wild birds until the latter perish, while adults raise no objection.

181 The Tongan character which, along with a large measure of
178 kindness, was at one time also characterized by a certain brutality toward human beings, (27)

27. For example, Martin, loc, cit. I, pp. 84/85, 210; Wood, loc. cit. pp. 28, 32, 38, 48.

seems to have changed (28)

[799] 28. Doubtless especially because of the strong missionary influence and the corresponding government authority inspired by it.

to the extent that today brutal behavior toward fellow-humans is regarded as revolting and almost never occurs.

181 These natives definitely give the impression of a peaceable, rural people attached to their soil. The daring that characterized their forefathers who, as intrepid seafarers, crossed the ocean, seems to be lost. Yet this impression is misleading. Those Tongans who
[484] nowadays cross the vast ocean every day in their small, primitive and
[502] overloaded cutters, the men who in a storm in January 1952 salvaged
[226] an unmanned cutter driven on a reef outside Nomuka by swimming out
[648] into the surging sea, the young natives who, with their catapults,
[701] shoot fish swimming below the surface in the shark-infested sea, as well as the large number of those who volunteered for action in the last war (and the attitude of the 50 Tongan fighters on the Solomons) prove that the Tongan, even under altered living conditions, has preserved his ancient valor. The old Polynesian urge to seek and colonize new land has, however, disappeared. Stubbornly the Tongan
[823] inhabitants remain on their presently occupied and, in part, over-
[241] populated islands; at best they /24/ will lay out a few plantings on neighboring islands and disregard the fertile and as yet unoccupied islands of the Archipelago. (29)

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/231 cont./ The Tongans (609)

609. That is to say, the crews of these boats, who devote themselves primarily to seafaring and often have little to do with the boat's construction.

are still very capable seamen. Even though they no longer have the old, admirable ability to take their bearings from the stars, the wind and the waves, but use the compass on all sailboats, they are still endowed with a sure, instinctive feeling for finding their way on the sea, since their old compasses, which are scarcely ever adjusted /232/ often have such variations that their usefulness is questionable. No Tongan on these boats owns a sextant or a log to determine position and distances covered, and sea charts are rare. Nonetheless, the boats daily operating within the Archipelago reach their destination, and it seldom happens that such a sailboat is driven off course or is lost.

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Here follows a report on a typical journey of this sort within the Archipelago:

On December 2, 1951 the sailboat "Leiola" coming from the island of Mango arrives in Nomuka where seven passengers with their luggage go on board. The "Leiola" leaves Nomuka around 17 o'clock and shortly thereafter drops anchor at Nomuka Iki where freight for Crown Prince Tungi is taken on board: a quantity of kape and taro, a pig, a goat and ten bags of copra. With this load, along with the seven passengers and the five-man crew the approximately nine-ton boat is so overloaded that it has scarcely two handspans of freeboard. It sets out for Tongatapu which is about 60 sea miles distant. During the first hour, hymns are sung and a prayer is said. In the foreship, as on most of these boats, there stands an old drum serving as stove where bananas and taro are cooked. With this meal drinking water is handed out from a can specially carried for this purpose. Then the

/232 cont./

505 passengers go to sleep crowded together on or below (610)
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(554)

610. Here dignitaries (chiefs, pastors) and older Tongans usually rest.

the small deck while the crew take turns at the wheel. They watch
505 the compass with the help of a lantern or flashlight, observe the
502 wind and the current and possibly certain bright stars. When reefs
484 are passed one man will often stand in the bow and correct the course; within range of one of the few navigation lights of the Archipelago a native may also climb the small mast to determine the
505 course from there. In the morning, at sunrise, a devotional service
484 is held. The passengers, two of whom have become seasick (!) then get ready for the landing. The women, in particular, comb and oil
(302) their hair, delouse each other and tie up their hairdos. Around
(515) eight o'clock the boat docks at Ma'ofanga (near Nuku'alofa); the passengers disembark and the crew follows after the freight has been unloaded and packed onto a truck.

On December 4th, around 18 o'clock, the "Leiola" then sailed back to Nomuka and Mango with the same crew, four passengers and a load of six barrels of cement and a few cases of soap.

505 While the sailboats described are used for "long-distance
501 traffic" wihtin the Archipelago, (611)

611. The two auxiliary ketches as well as a few sailboats equipped with auxiliary motors belonging to the Tongan churches sometimes travel even to Fiji.

the simple little outrigger, the popao, is the typical conveyance of
501 short-distance traffic. This dugout with outrigger equipment is the
178 only watercraft of ancient Tongan style which is still made in rather large numbers. The complicated and slightly larger outrigger of the
/233/ tafa'anga type, the boat body of which is made of planks that are lashed with coconut fiber cords and sealed with resin, (612)

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

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tacked to meet her. It[A] was about 15 feet in length, without any 501
carving or ornament, and having a single outrigger. There were 505
four natives in it, all naked with the exception of a little tappa, or [291]
native cloth, wrapped round the waist, and reaching down to the
knee. They came out against a heavy swell, often dashing right
through the crests of the waves, which at times broke completely
over them. They were talking to each other with great rapidity 123
and animation as they approached, and, as we looked at them, not 505
at all expecting to hear anything we should understand, one of 191
them hailed us in perfectly good English, "Square the main
yard!" As this had been already done some short time before
to allow the canoe to come up with us, this speech was no
doubt intended to show us how well he could speak English. A 505
rope being thrown over, one of them scrambled up the side, the
canoe pushing off again with the rest. The native who came on 142
board was a fine man about six feet in height, with really handsome
features, and a fine open expression that was quite prepossessing.
He was tatooed upon the breast and across the back of one hand, 304
and had lost one of his fingers. When he came on deck he an- 502
nounced himself as a pilot, asked whether we were English or
French, and then pointed out the passage through the reefs to
the anchorage, watching the ship, and saying "very good," as she
came up to her course, and then, going forward, took up his station
on the bowsprit. The entrance to the anchorage is between a 502
mass of coral reefs and islets on the northern side of the island, and 133
is very narrow, but our native pilot showed the greatest coolness
and judgment in conducting us through it. Within the entrance 133
the anchorage spreads out into a bay with deep water right up to
the reef which skirts the shore.

Owing to the want of high ground there is nothing very striking [368]
in the appearance of the island, which from the sea forms a conti-
nuous line of palms rising over a beach of coral, the highest part
being the small mount opposite the anchorage at Nu-ku-alófa, on
which stands the native church and a small stone, marking the
grave of Captain Croker, of H.M.S. "Favourite," who was killed
at Béa, in the island, in 1840. Upon the beach were some very 361
large sheds, and many pretty huts enclosed by neatly made fences.

When we had anchored, a whole fleet of small canoes, bringing 505
crowds of natives, came off to the ship. In the afternoon a party
was made up to go on shore. At the landing-place we were met 123
by a large troop, principally children and young women, with two [411]
or three young men, one of whom carried a bayonet fixed upon
the end of a pole. The women were dressed in short jackets of [291]
coloured cotton, with sleeves reaching down to the elbows, and
petticoats of tappa fastened round the waist. As we were going [797]
away to look for the houses of the missionaries, a native came

A [i.e., a Tongan canoe--Analyst.]

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

islets round the anchorage. Closer at hand, some of the largest and fastest sailers, their decks thronged with people, were crowding upon one another like yachts in a regatta, their large angular sails at times nearly touching the Meander's jib-boom end, as they came sweeping across her bows, ploughing the sea up with their sharp stems, and leaving broad tracks of shining white foam behind. They were ornamented with long swallow-tailed streamers of different colours, the foot or lower part of some of the largest sails being fringed with an edging of small flags placed close together. Many had rows of large white cowries fastened on to their bows, and carried black crescent-shaped ornaments at their mast-heads. One canoe had a large black ball painted on the centre of its sail. They came tearing along right up to the edge of the reef, and, when it seemed as though another instant must take them up high and dry on to the coral, would shoot up in the wind's eye and shorten sail; prolonged shouts from the people in the canoes already anchored greeting every fresh arrival. A fleet of smaller canoes surrounded the Meander as she lay broadside on to the shore. Below the hill on the left, shaded by a sombre looking group of casuarinas, was the tomb of Josiah, the last King of Tonga, and near the spot where we stood, two small trees of the same kind, planted by his sons, marked the site of his palace.*

Having seen the last canoe arrive, we walked down the hill to go on board. At the beach all was stir and bustle, small canoes bringing the people on shore from the larger ones, which lay anchored in the deep water at the edge of the reef. Some of the canoes were loaded with enormously fat old women, and were being pushed across the reef by men wading alongside, who helped the old ladies out at the landing-place and set them on their legs with great care, when they waddled up the beach like so many turtle. Wishing to engage one of these canoes to take us off to the ship, we made the men understand that if they would come with us we would pay them for their trouble when they got on board; upon which they ran up after the old ladies to ask their permission, which, however, was most unceremoniously refused. One of the most re-

* Casuarina equisetifolia. Pickering, in his 'Races of Men,' mentions this tree as having been introduced into Polynesia; and remarks that it has probably been brought from the westward. My attention was particularly arrested by the use of it at Tongatabu as the emblem of mourning, from having noticed that the natives of Twofold Bay, on the S.-eastern coast of Australia, select spots shaded by it for the interment of their dead. In the only instance where this was not done, I remarked that branches of it were brought from some distance and laid upon the newly-made grave. At Tahiti the grave of King Pomare (father of the present Queen) stands in a grove of them. It grows generally by the sea-shore, where the wind, passing through its fine hair-like leaves, produces a mournful sighing sound, which, with its sombre tint, adapts it peculiarly to the same purposes as the cypress and trees used in other countries for planting near tombs.

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

131
133 northward and westward of it, and the eastern point of Tongatabu will then be clearly seen, and cannot be mistaken. Abreast of Eua Eki we picked up a native
[502] pilot, and bore up for the opening between that island and the E. point of Tongatabu, which is the entrance to the anchorage on the northern side of the island.

133 No stranger should attempt this passage without a pilot; and at first sight it appears almost impossible to take a ship through the different windings between the coral reefs.

In running up you have the shore of Tongatabu on the left hand, and a number of small wooded islets on the right; all the shores being edged with coral reefs, which are generally breaking, and for the most part dry at low water. About halfway through the channel there is an awkward turn, with two sunken rocks in the centre, contracting the channel to less than a cable's length, steep until you pass to the westward of these rocks. With the exception of this turn, the channel is of good width, and within the passage it spreads out into an apparently clear, broad sheet of water, edged on the outside by small islets.

The Meander ran in and anchored within 400 yards of the edge of the flat reef which runs off the shore, just abreast of the church, in 17 fathoms water; sandy bottom. There are no high leading marks for the passage; but from the bowsprit-end or fore-yard all the dangers may be seen. With the danger from sunken rocks, no ship could work through the turns; and the passage should never be attempted without a commanding fair wind, the tide setting in different directions over and between the coral reefs.

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000 VII.—*Notes on the Distribution of Animals available as Food in the Arctic Regions.* By AUGUSTUS PETERMANN, Esq., F.R.G.S., &c.

Read Feb. 9, 1852.

THE occurrence of animals in the Arctic Regions, and its bearing on the missing expedition under Sir John Franklin, is a subject which has of late excited a good deal of interest, and has given rise to the most conflicting and contradictory opinions: some maintaining the existence of animals in the Arctic regions in great numbers, affording abundance of food to man; others as stoutly insisting upon the extreme scarcity, if not total absence, of them.

On entering, however, into an analysis of all that has been said and written on this point, it appears that a too confined view has been generally taken of the subject. Individual observations in certain localities have been separately considered and reasoned upon for the entire region, and these localities only related to a comparatively small space on the American side, the whole Asiatic side of the Polar basin not being taken into account at all. Again, it has been commonly assumed that with ascending latitudes temperature descended, and animal and vegetable life decreased, attaining their minima at the Pole. Nothing could be more fallacious than such an hypothesis in a region where the temperature corresponds less with latitude than in any other part of the globe. When, therefore, the shores and waters of Wellington Channel were found to be "teeming with animal life," it was regarded as a wonderful fact that more animals should be found in that region than in those to